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edited by Diana Leong & Jade Sunouchi

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## PREFACE

*Diana Leong, MA, Department of English*

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On Saturday, April 25, 2009, the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa held its thirteenth annual graduate student conference under the theme of *Talk Story: Exploring Narrative through Language, Literature and Linguistics*. Bringing together graduate students and faculty from the Departments of English, Linguistics, Second Language Studies, Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas and East Asian Languages and Literatures, the conference began with a plenary speech by renowned writer and scholar Witi Ihimaera. Professor Ihimaera is the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa's Citizens' Chair and Distinguished Visiting Writer for the Spring 2009 semester. Following his plenary speech, thirty-eight graduate students presented their work in two sessions and eleven panels. Articles by seventeen presenters are included in these proceedings.

On behalf of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, the editors-in-chief would like to extend our sincere gratitude to the team of faculty and student volunteers that ensured the success of this year's conference. A special debt of gratitude goes to conference co-chairs Suann Robinson, Michael E. Sullivan and Julia Wieting for their tireless dedication in managing all aspects of the conference planning process. We would also like to thank faculty advisor Dr. Robert Sullivan of the English department for his support. Of course, we are deeply indebted to all the abstract readers, publicity managers, food and beverage organizers, panel moderators, program and web designers, and other on-site volunteers for their assistance.

Many thanks are also due to Dean Joseph H. O'Mealy of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature and to his office staff for their guidance and support during the editing, formatting and preparation of these proceedings. In particular, the successful publication of these proceedings owes a great debt of gratitude to Iris Chang and her assistant Wai Yee Chan for their unwavering commitment and patience. We are also grateful to our assistant editors Marisol Garcia, Akiemi Glenn, Amanda Hamilton, Maria Sgroi and Tanya Torres. We wish our editing team, proceedings contributors, conference volunteers and organizers all the best with their future endeavors.



## PLENARY SPEAKER HIGHLIGHTS

*Jade Sunouchi, MA, Department of English*

On April 25, 2009, Citizens' Chair and Spring 2009 Distinguished Visiting Writer Witi Ihimaera passionately spoke about being a "practicing creative writer." His calling was clear: "My job as a writer has always been to throw those words over a fire and crack them open." But he humbly added: "If I can do it, you can do it, and anyone can do it." Coming from the first Maori novelist and prolific author of 11 published novels (soon to be 12), 6 collections of short stories, 5 operas, 1 play, 1 ballet, 2 children's books, and more than 15 anthologies of Maori art, literature, and culture, his conviction and encouragement were extraordinary.

Ihimaera's speech shook the audience awake. He slipped advice in unexpected places, leaving the audience to chew on statements, such as "Writers are the most unfit people on the planet." (And many of us admitted we had not been to the gym that morning.) But his estimation provided the thrust for simple routines that promised we would be more mentally and physically fit to write. This began with eating simply, stretching "so the words can come up and out without hitting the sides [of the body]," and doing short warm-up writing exercises.

When Ihimaera narrowed his advice to the craft of fiction, he demanded we take risks in writing: "Embrace danger in your work!" He encouraged that we "escape the frame of the literary context." On the most practical level, he guided us through his three Rs: research, re-write, and revise.

He was never low on advice, but always generous with tips: "Work out an idea. Ask yourself, 'How am I going to do this?' Establish a timeframe. Write to be published, but always be flexible. Write with forward movement in your work." He insisted: "Write long, not short." Above all, he pressed that we "learn to write through life."

While Ihimaera spoke thoughtfully and seriously, he always injected his wit and good humor. "How do you sculpt an elephant out of a block of stone?" he asked. His candid speech revealed: "Writing is sculpting everything away that is not the elephant."





# I. Languages and Linguistics



# WHOSE LANGUAGE IS IT? THE RHETORIC AND POLITICS OF LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION

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## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Language documentation, which has been described as the creation of a "lasting, multipurpose record of a language" (Himmelman, "Language Documentation" 1) has historically been composed primarily of work done *on* a given language *by* outsiders—that is, by non-native speakers of the language being documented. Outsiders, including linguists, scientists, members of organizations concerned with cultural diversity, and even missionaries, have played major roles in both justifying the need for documentation and documenting itself. Native speakers of a language, on the other hand, often have very different opinions about the reasons for language documentation and the form that documentation should take in order to serve their needs. This paper will review the roles played by various groups in promoting language documentation and in the documentation itself. It will conclude with an examination of how these issues have played out at the Language Documentation Training Center (LDTTC) at the University of Hawai'i, an organization run by linguistics students and dedicated to training speakers to document their own languages. Because of time and space considerations the focus here is only on the documentation of endangered languages, but language maintenance and revitalization are often inextricably linked to documentary work.

Since the publication in 1992 of a landmark series of articles in the journal *Language*, the world has seen a veritable avalanche of books, articles, journals, radio programs, and even films about endangered languages. Most of these resources highlight and promote language documentation in response to the worldwide crisis of language endangerment. Most of these are also written or produced by outsiders—linguists, researchers, or journalists who are not speakers of endangered languages. Those who are speaking on behalf of endangered languages are genuinely concerned, and many of the linguists have spent years or even decades working to document them, even when other linguistic pursuits might earn more academic merit. Yet the stories, arguments, and proposals are all beginning to sound eerily familiar, almost as if there is a template for presenting the plight of endangered languages to the public. Indeed, linguist Claire Bowern posted a tongue-in-cheek "formula for producing an article on an endangered language" to her blog *Anggarrgoon* in 2004, editing and re-posting it in 2008 (Bowern par. 1).

Are the same arguments simply being recycled every time someone writes about endangered language? Who are these arguments serving? Which voices are being heard in the discussion of endangered languages? It might do some good at this point in the development of "endangered language studies" to look critically at how researchers and writers are presenting endangered languages, and especially how they are justifying the need for documentation. Three major trends in much of the public discourse about endangered languages are as follows: 1) the use of statistics and quantification to highlight the worldwide threat to linguistic diversity; 2) an emphasis on the valuable indigenous knowledge embedded in these languages; and 3) some mention of the added value these languages represent to linguistics.

## 2.0. ARGUMENTS ON BEHALF OF ENDANGERED LANGUAGES

Appeals to numbers—to percentages of the world speaking dominant languages, to the number of endangered languages worldwide, to the chance of a given number of languages disappearing in a given number of years, to rates, statistics, totals, and remaining speaker counts—are a prominent feature of endangered language discourse. Michael Krauss devotes a large amount of space in his article "The World's Languages in Crisis" to a survey of these numbers related to language endangerment, concluding that "the coming century will see either the death or doom of 90% of mankind's languages" (Krauss 7). David Crystal offers a chart showing the distribution of language sizes: only eight of the world's languages have over 100 million speakers, nearly half of the 6,000 languages currently spoken have between 100 and one million speakers, and 181 languages have less than ten remaining speakers (Crystal 15). In 2008 Dr. Peter Austin of the University of London gave a lecture in Honolulu on endangered languages; his PowerPoint slides showed chart after chart of language statistics from all over the world (Austin). All these statistics make a very strong case for the impending disappearance of many of the world's languages, and they stress the scale of loss in a way that even

people without a linguistics background can easily grasp. Numbers are also used to make the case for the documentation of individual languages, which are "prioritised by the weakness of their speaker base and their 'degree of endangerment' using official metrics and scales, like the deceptively precise speaker and 'ethnic group' numbers published in *Ethnologue*, or the nine-parameter 'endangerment index' popularised by UNESCO" (Dobrin, Austin, and Nathan 3). As Dobrin et al. point out, this leads to commodification, the "reduction of languages to common exchange values" (3). This line of reasoning represents languages as countable, discrete objects. As objects they are intrinsically valuable, and their loss is undesirable, though only if one accepts the premise that language diversity is fundamentally good. The value of diversity is usually assumed, though some writers make this value within the discipline of linguistics explicit. Other researchers make an analogy between linguistic diversity, cultural diversity, and biological diversity, implying that just as biological diversity benefits an ecosystem, linguistic diversity benefits humanity. This recourse to numbers serves to decontextualize languages: every language becomes just one of 6,000 or so, simply one piece of an abstract peril. According to Errington,

the properties of languages take on importance and value in the aggregate, so that what is threatened by the death of any one language is the cumulative diversity of the whole. This involves a broad comparative framing of languages as tokens of a quasi-biological semiotic type [ . . . ] it motivates research rationales and descriptive techniques that make it possible to alienate languages radically from interactional contexts, natural environments, and communities. ("Getting Language Rights" 726)

Languages become tokens, generic symbols of diversity, and objects that can be counted, evaluated, and recorded by linguists. Jane Hill takes this critique further, making a connection between enumeration and colonialism. Evaluating resources in a given area is a major feature of colonialism. Drawing lines between languages, differentiating languages from dialects, counting speakers: all are relatively new Western constructs, the application of which is a "gesture of power" (Hill 127). By resorting to numbers and statistics to communicate the issues facing many languages, outsiders are essentializing, objectifying, and commodifying languages that in reality are specific, local, and dynamic aspects of culture.

In addition to quantifying languages and the danger of their disappearance, writers frequently speak of the value of these endangered languages as repositories of knowledge. Scientific and cultural knowledge are embedded in languages—especially indigenous languages, whose speakers have lived in a single location for an extended time—and this knowledge is generally lost with the language. Embedded knowledge is valuable to the human race as a whole, and "has much to contribute to scientific theories through the uncovering of potentially invaluable perspectives on a variety of problems such as land management, marine technology, plant cultivation, and animal husbandry" (Nettle and Romaine 51). Many authors point out that much of the knowledge held by indigenous cultures is tied to the sustainable use of natural resources and a deep understanding of the local environment. Nettle and Romaine devote many pages to a discussion of Micronesian islanders' fishing culture as it relates to language. Different fishhooks have different names, which encode information about how and when the hook should be used. Within fish species, there are often terms for fish at different stages of their life cycle, which are tied to an understanding of the marine ecosystem. Throughout this discussion it is emphasized that traditional culture, which is firmly linked to indigenous languages and a deep knowledge of the environment, is healthier, more sustainable and overall better for these societies than the current state of post-colonial cultural flux. At a more general level, these authors and others make it clear that science has much to learn about biology, the environment, and medicine from indigenous cultures and languages. Therefore, documenting these languages and the worldviews embedded in them will be good for everyone involved.

There is truth to these arguments about language and knowledge. Many indigenous societies have developed very specialized, localized systems of knowledge and this knowledge rarely survives in its entirety when a community shifts to a dominant language such as English. But at the same time, this line of reasoning results in a romanticized view of indigenous cultures and endangered languages. It brings to mind the "noble savage" first embraced by 18<sup>th</sup> century Romanticism and glosses over the reality of an increasingly global, connected world. It puts the writer—generally an outsider, a linguist or journalist rather than a member of a community where a threatened language is spoken—in a position to measure the value of a language. Again the discussion moves toward a colonialist stance of evaluating and extracting resources, but in this case the resource is knowledge and it is being extracted from dying languages.

Of clear value to linguists, though not always as prominent in the discourse, is the language data that can be gathered from endangered languages. The 6,000+ languages of the world show incredible diversity, from sound systems to word and sentence structure to larger features like discourse patterns. The majority of linguistic theory, however, is based on data from just a handful of well-studied languages such as English, French, and other Indo-European languages. Data from linguistically diverse but understudied areas such as Papua New Guinea, Southeast Asia, and central Africa can potentially lead to great advances in linguistics. Only by understanding the extent of the variation among languages can linguists even define what language itself is, and what forms it can take. Subtle differences in languages may take years to understand, making declining speaker populations and shifts to dominant languages even more of a loss to the discipline. However, by making assertions about the impending loss, linguists are again implying that the world should be able to benefit from specific languages that are spoken in specific communities. It is often assumed that, as researchers, linguists have the right to study and, to some extent, benefit from the research on endangered languages. Hill reminds us that speakers of endangered languages do not necessarily make the same assumptions about universal ownership of "their" languages (122). Often language groups want to retain control over their language and oppose the collection and publication of dictionaries, grammars, and stories from their community. Arguments about the value of linguistic data, then, while quite valid from a linguist's point of view, are often troublesome to communities who have in the past been treated unfairly by anthropologists, scientists, or linguists.

The value assigned to these languages is also troubling in that some languages—those that are typologically distinct or genetically isolated from other languages—are conceivably worth more than others. For example, linguists might give a language with a previously unknown system of case-marking, or a language with no known relatives (that is, other languages from which it developed), higher priority than an equally endangered language that differs from a sister language from a nearby island by only by a few vowels. Isolated and typologically unusual languages will usually be targeted for documentation first. Yet again, languages are being evaluated for their usefulness to outsiders.

These are not the only justifications for language documentation, but they seem to be the most prominent. They all are true in certain ways but they also contribute to a view of languages as objects that can be manipulated, recorded, and exploited for the common good. In this discourse it is most often the outsider's voice—that of the expert, linguist, or scientist—that is heard and proposes documentation as a way of preserving these languages. The voices of the speakers of endangered languages themselves are rarely heard in the public arena.

### 3.0. LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION

The arguments explored above are all from the last 15 years or so—a time when interest in the documentation of endangered languages has grown exponentially. Linguistic fieldwork has been taking place for much longer than that, however. For hundreds of years, explorers, travelers, missionaries, and others have recorded and described the languages they encountered. Joseph Errington makes a strong case for the colonial dimension of linguistics from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. "Alien" languages had to be understood and made transparent; this was accomplished through the development of orthographies and for the first time ever many traditionally oral languages were reduced to writing and fixed on sheets of paper. Languages were explored and explained through the lens of the Indo-European "norm" in an attempt to "mitigate linguistic otherness in (proto) colonial encounters" (Errington, "Colonial Linguistics" 21). Where there were colonial encounters there were often parallel missionary encounters, leading to "a project of multiple conversion: of pagan to Christian, of speech to writing, and of the alien to the comprehensible" (Errington, "Colonial Linguistics" 21). Over and over again, power was applied to complex systems of language and culture through attempts to understand other cultures and to produce conformity.

This historical tangle of colonialism, missionary work, and linguistic pursuits is not always acknowledged in the context of today's language documentation. Indeed, the impact of language work on the speakers of the language—the ethics of linguistic fieldwork—was seldom considered for most of the twentieth century (Himmelman, "Reproduction and Preservation" 341). Fieldwork was assumed to be neutral, and "the outcomes of linguistic fieldwork were seen to be of no particular interest to the speakers [. . .] and hence no obligations existed with regard to sharing these results with them" (Himmelman, "Reproduction and

Preservation" 341). The traditional products of linguistic fieldwork—a dictionary, a grammar, and a collection of texts—are often inaccessible to the language's speakers for a variety of reasons. Dictionaries have historically been produced bilingually, with entries in the endangered language explained in the language used academically by the linguist – usually English or French. Grammars are often written in such a complex, academic style, that no layperson could use them even if the person were literate in English or another lingua franca. Text collections are rarely widely published or distributed in the region where the language is spoken. Looking back to the three lines of reasoning discussed above, we see some striking parallels between the current rhetoric and the historic (and more recent) reality of language documentation. Languages are assigned value because of what they can offer to linguists, scientists, and the general population, rather than to speakers of the languages themselves. Outsiders have studied and still study languages; linguists extract information but do not necessarily share in a meaningful way with the language community.

This is a rather pessimistic view of the situation; there are certainly areas where native voices are being heard on behalf of their languages, and where linguists are working together with communities to produce documentation that can benefit those outside the academic community. Recently, a growing awareness of the roles, needs, and rights of native speakers of endangered languages has begun to emerge in the discourse of documentation. Additionally, activists are starting to advocate language work on a community level, outside the public and academic spheres, often with drastically different goals.

#### 4.0. INSIDER VOICES

In response to Hill's 2002 article on the rhetoric of language documentation, Leanne Hinton, a longtime supporter of community language work, examined writings by native groups on behalf of their languages. Though much of the writing she looked at was directed at language revitalization, the underlying assumption is that documentation is a key component of any revitalization work; therefore, these reasons apply to documentation as well. In contrast to the discussions of numbers, worldwide value, and value to linguists, she found a clear emphasis on the themes listed below:

1. Language as healing
2. Language as key to identity
3. Language as key to spirituality
4. Language as carrier of culture and worldview (Hinton 152)

Running throughout these themes is the assumption that languages are local, organic components of diverse and dynamic communities. Languages are not counted, and valuable resources are not extracted from them. Rather, languages are tied inseparably to the people who speak them, and their value is found in the very ties to people and communities. Hinton classifies much of this dialog as "internal language advocacy," as it is happening within communities, by community members, and on behalf of languages spoken in the community. Native speakers clearly have a voice in this arena, and they have a different agenda.

In the act of documentation itself there has also been evidence of an increasing awareness of the needs of endangered language speakers. Marianne Mithun uses concrete examples from her own work on endangered languages in California to show how linguistic data can be made more relevant and useful to language speakers and their descendants. She urges that linguists and communities work together on documentation projects, capturing information that community members can benefit from as well (Mithun 43). Mithun, a linguist, refers to the importance of language to community and individual identities, echoing Hinton's second theme of internal language advocacy. Many linguists, like Mithun, are trying to make their work more accessible to speakers. Himmelmann suggests including formulaic speech (greetings, common phrases) in language documentation as one way to make research more useful to communities that might be interested revitalizing their language. He also discusses the merits of "redefining and enlarging the role of the text collection" ("Reproduction and Preservation" 346) since texts potentially carry linguistic, cultural, historical, and social information and therefore could be used by a community in a variety of ways. Nancy Dorian describes her own experiences as a linguist involved in a "collaborative community-based project" in Arizona, making ten specific recommendations for linguists who are involved in collaborative work (Dorian 192-198). Overall, there is a growing agreement that language documentation should be approached as a collaborative effort between linguists and communities.

Not all language documentation work is initiated by linguists in the academic sphere. Throughout Australia and in parts of North America, indigenous language centers are being established, sometimes with the assistance of hired linguists, to support documentation and continued transmission of native languages. For the past four years, the Indigenous Languages and Technology (ILAT) email discussion list has provided a forum for indigenous activists involved in language work to discuss all aspects of their work, from reasons for documentation to software tools for recording to teaching methods (Cash Cash and Penfield). The success of many speaker-initiated and speaker-led efforts like language centers and the popularity of the ILAT listserv show that linguists need not be central to language documentation projects, though they are surely valuable in providing advice and technical assistance.

The Language Documentation Training Center (LDTC) at the University of Hawai'i's Mānoa campus is a complex example of collaboration between linguists and native speakers of endangered languages. While aimed at empowering native speakers to document their own languages, the program is run by graduate students in the Department of Linguistics, and there are occasionally conflicts of interest in terms of goals and methods. The final portion of this paper will look critically at the LDTC in the context of roles played, voices heard, justifying documentation, and documentation itself.

## 5.0. THE LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION TRAINING CENTER

The LDTC was established in 2004 as a community service project. Graduate students initiated the project and continue to run it. They are responsible for all decisions about curriculum, goals, advertising, and funding. Faculty advisors are just that—advisors; they are highly supportive but do not interfere unnecessarily. The mission of the project, as stated on its website, is “to train native speakers of underdocumented languages to work on the documentation of their own languages” and “to equip native speakers with basic skills in documentation, to offer them a public domain for making information about their languages accessible, and to inspire native speakers to become language advocates in their own communities” (“About LDTC” sec. 2).

Since 2004 the LDTC has held a series of workshops every semester. Each series consists of eight two-hour Saturday meetings. At each meeting, the first half hour features a teaching session that introduces the participants to an aspect of language documentation, such as recording, making a word list, or translating. Each native speaker is then paired up with a graduate student mentor, and they work together on the documentation project. Native speaker participants are urged to attend all eight workshops, and at the end they produce a webpage containing material in and about their language. Most semesters, the LDTC has been able to award each native speaker participant a \$200 stipend for completing their project. Usually, native speaker participants are international students attending UH.

The LDTC presents an argument for language documentation twice throughout the semester: once during the recruitment period, and once at the first workshop. LDTC volunteers use a slightly different approach at each of these points, forming the picture of language endangerment and language documentation. At the beginning of each semester, graduate students who are involved in LDTC spend two weeks recruiting native speakers to participate in the workshops; they recruit through posters, email announcements, and an information table at Hale Manoa (a dorm for international students). The posters contain questions aimed at the “understudied” aspect of endangered languages; these questions—“Does your language have a dictionary?” or “Is your language on the Internet?”—are followed by brief information about the LDTC and the upcoming workshops. The email announcements are similar, prompting people to consider if and how their languages are represented. The information table displays a project from a previous semester, highlights some aspect of language diversity (at the most recent information table, passers-by were asked to write “hello” in their native language on a 3x5 card and post it), and carries brochures with more information about LDTC. None of these strategies rely on enumeration, the value of embedded knowledge, or language’s value to linguists. The strategies do imply, however, the connection between language and identity (“*your* language”) and refer to language rights as well since asking if a language is represented implies it could or should be. Languages are treated not as one of 6,000+, but as unique aspects of culture.

At the first workshop, the LDTC leaders take a different approach. This teaching session is an introduction to language endangerment and documentation. Here, facts and figures are presented as they often are in popular and academic works on endangered languages. Languages are depicted as countable entities, and

their disappearance as a loss for all of humanity. There is additional emphasis, though, on the personal and community aspect of languages. The connection between language and identity is stressed, and there is often a brief presentation from a former LDTC participant on the personal impact of the workshops.

Whose voices are being heard when the LDTC depicts language endangerment and promotes documentation? It seems to be a combination of outsider voices (the linguistics graduate students who are aware of the worldwide phenomenon of endangerment) and insider voices (native speakers of endangered languages, many of whom work with the LDTC and are aware of identity and personal issues tied to language endangerment). Overall, the rhetoric that is heard seems less essentializing and objectifying than much of the public discussion, though perhaps not quite as nuanced and sensitive as the internal language advocacy described by Hinton. It would probably benefit the graduate student organizers of LDTC to take some time to discuss exactly what they want to communicate, and what the implications might be, when they present language endangerment and documentation. Ideally this discussion would involve native speakers of endangered languages as well, many of whom have been part of the LDTC either as graduate students or as participants for many semesters.

The actual documentation projects that take place at LDTC closely follow the curriculum taught at each workshop. From 2004 until the spring of 2008, the curriculum was heavily focused on linguistics. Participants learned about phonology, orthography, morphology, and syntax, in addition, to recording and webpage building skills, and the resulting projects were relatively technical, containing wordlists, examples of morphological and syntactic patterns, and usually a single text. Participants recorded generic texts based on a series of pictures depicting a story that they narrate in their language. Most of this information would be of more interest and use to linguists than to speakers of the language.

In the fall semester of 2008, LDTC's organizers decided to change the curriculum significantly, and the resulting workshops downplayed much of the linguistics content (no phonology, orthography, morphology, or syntax). During this semester the focus turned to recording cultural texts such as stories, songs, and folktales, using dictionary-making software, and mastering basic HTML in order to present language information on the Internet. Participants were given more liberty to design their own projects, focusing on whatever linguistic or cultural information they felt was most worth documenting. One participant recorded songs in her native language. Another created a resource of common greetings and expressions that tourists to his region could use. The participants had more freedom to express the aspects of their languages and cultures that they felt were unique; they could influence the direction of the documentation.

The graduate students organizing the LDTC held a meeting following the fall 2008 workshops to evaluate the changes made that semester. All agreed that while many of the changes were positive, the lack of almost all linguistic content made it difficult for participants to translate and explain their texts. Some linguistic content, then, seems necessary—at least enough to enable participants to deal with orthographical and basic translation issues. An additional issue that wasn't addressed at the meeting was that the dictionaries created by participants all ended up being bilingual—that is, entries in each participant's native languages were explained in English. For many languages, such as minority languages spoken in China, this was probably not ideal, since those interested in the dictionary might not understand English.

## 6.0. CONCLUSION

The fall 2008 workshops were a worthwhile experiment. Progress was made toward balancing the needs of linguists and native speakers, although there were still tensions between what linguists wanted (bilingual dictionaries), what linguists thought native speakers wanted (less linguistic technicalities), and what actually happened (some confusion; some interesting projects). When evaluating the semester, graduate students made little effort to get feedback from native speaker participants in the project. The participants that were asked for input seemed to feel unqualified to give opinions to linguists, who knew more about the subject and process of language documentation. This shows the biggest potential flaw of the LDTC: graduate students are set up as experts, leaving native speaker participants in a position to learn from, but not necessarily contribute to, the process. Even though the professed goal is to equip native speakers with documentation skills, the LDTC is not necessarily a collaborative process unless native speakers have some influence over both the process and



the result. Even if the graduate students are changing the curriculum in a way that they *think* will be better for native speakers, they are still the ones making the decisions.

The LDTC is an innovative project and has clearly had a positive influence within the Department of Linguistic and on the UH campus. Native speakers of endangered languages have received training in language documentation, and a handful have been awarded grants for further work on their language. If the organizers can evaluate the views they are presenting when they discuss endangered languages, and if native speakers' needs can be integrated more fully into the curriculum, then the LDTC will make even more progress toward being a truly collaborative project in which the voices of both linguists and speakers of endangered languages are heard.

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# DOES LANGUAGE AFFECT PEOPLE'S MENTAL REPRESENTATION OF NUMBERS?

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## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

We are investigating whether language affects people's mental image of numbers. In particular, we are interested in whether the way people talk about numbers (fractions vs. percentages) affects how they mentally represent them. By observation, Laura has noticed that native English speakers use fractions in daily speech more often than Spanish speakers do. Native Spanish speakers tend to use percentages. Birte observed the same phenomenon occurring with German speakers. For example, if we asked an English speaker how much of the linguistic relativism assignment he or she has completed, it is more likely that the response will be something like "I'm three quarters done." On the contrary, a native Spanish or German speaker would answer, "I'm seventy five percent done." We haven't found any work that addresses this topic. We are going to address it by conducting a simple non-linguistic experiment, as explained below. Our hypothesis is that, because of this difference, English speakers tend to visualize those numbers as fractions, while Spanish and German speakers tend to visualize them as percentages. This topic is interesting because it could shed light on the processes of numerical reasoning in multicultural settings; e.g. mathematics learning in a multilingual classroom.

## 2.0 DATA

### 2.1. Methods

1. Subjects were shown a number in decimal form, e.g. 0.75, on a computer screen.
2. Then they were shown two images representing the number in fraction and percent form.
3. Subjects were asked to pick which image best matched the number shown. We measured the frequency each image was selected (expressed as a percentage).

### 2.2 Conditions

1. Native language (Spanish, German and English)

We measured subjects' mental representation of numbers (percent vs. fraction).

### 2.3 Materials

1. 5 numbers in decimal form that could easily be converted into fractions or percentages: 0.75, 0.5, 0.25, 0.66, and 0.33
2. 10 pictures, two for each number. The standard pie chart represents the percentage form and the exploded version represents the fraction form.

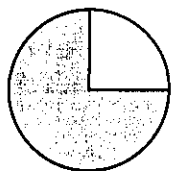


Figure 1: Spanish/German speakers (75%)

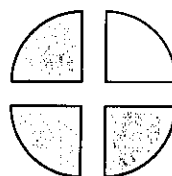


Figure 2: English speakers (3/4)

### 2.4 Subjects

1. 7 native English speakers
2. 7 native Spanish speakers
3. 7 native German speakers

### 2.5 Analysis

Statistical Test: ANOVA

Groups were comprised of English, Spanish and German speakers. We also collected information on the gender and age of each participant, which might be of use in further studies.

### 3.0. RESULTS

Native English speakers had an average preference of 57.1% for the percentage pictures. The speakers had the highest standard deviation and the widest range of preferences. Native Spanish and German speakers showed a strong preference for 'big chunk of a whole' responses, which represent the percent. Germans scored 94.3% and Spanish speakers scored 80% for percentage pictures. Even though German and Spanish speakers showed similar average test results, the German speakers had the lowest standard deviation ( $SD=9.76$ ). It is interesting to see that both Spanish and English speakers had similar standard deviations, 31.5 and 34.6 respectively. This shows that German speakers were more consistent with their responses, while the other two groups had more variability. English and Spanish speakers also had the same range: 80. German had a range of 20. This shows German scores were most tightly packed. The other group scores were more spread out.

The individual test scores also show that all German speakers preferred percentages, with scores of either 80% or 100%. English speakers' scores were mixed: 20%, 40%, 60%, 80% or 100%. This suggests some speakers prefer percentages, others prefer fractions, and others showed no preference (results of 40% or 60%). For Spanish speakers, five participants scored 100%, one participant scored 40% and the other, 20%. This suggests that while most participants showed a preference for percentages, there are also those who show a preference for fractions, but no scores in between (unlike English speakers who showed no preference). Please refer to figures and tables below.

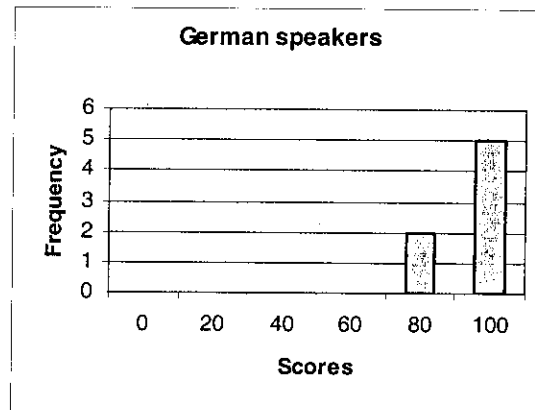


Figure 3: German speakers' frequency scores

Table 1: Scores and Frequency of German speakers

Scores	Freq(G)
0	0
20	0
40	0
60	0
80	2
100	5

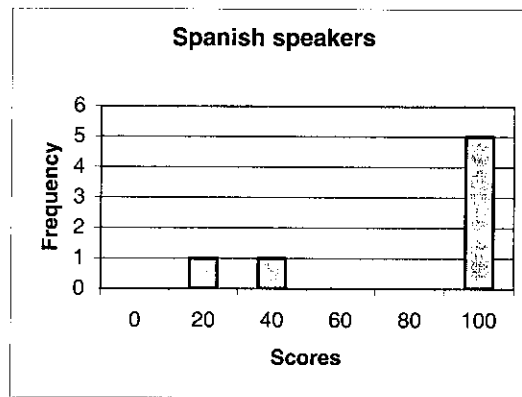


Figure 4: Spanish speakers' frequency scores

Table 2: Scores and Frequency of Spanish speakers

Scores	Freq(S)
0	0
20	1
40	1
60	0
80	0
100	5

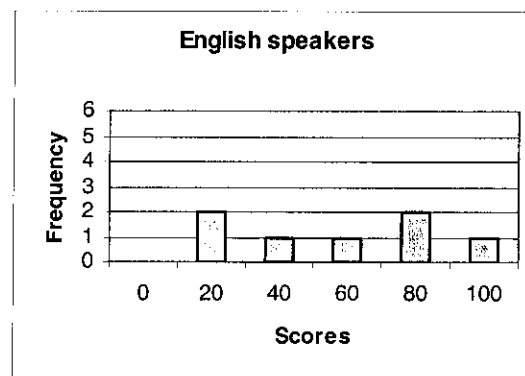


Figure 5: English speakers' frequency scores

Table 3: Scores and Frequency of English speakers

Scores	Freq(E)
0	0
20	2
40	1
60	1
80	2
100	1

The ANOVA test showed a p-value of 0.064. This result is not statistically significant. We believe the result might be significant with a larger number of participants. The result is already close to significance.

**ANOVA: Results**

$p = 0.064$

•Group G: Number of items= 7

80.0 80.0 100. 100. 100. 100. 100.

•Mean = 94.3

Standard Deviation = 9.76

Hi = 100. Low = 80.0

•Group S: Number of items= 7

20.0 40.0 100. 100. 100. 100. 100.

•Mean = 80.0

Standard Deviation = 34.6

Hi = 100. Low = 20.0

•Group E: Number of items= 7

20.0 20.0 40.0 60.0 80.0 80.0 100.

•Mean = 57.1

Standard Deviation = 31.5

Hi = 100. Low = 20.0

**4.0. DISCUSSION**

The results might not be representative of all speakers in each language group because the groups of participants were not homogeneous. The German participants were mostly university students in their twenties. All of the English speakers were high school students under eighteen years of age. The Spanish speakers were mostly college graduates in their early thirties. The only common characteristic among the three groups was that they had about the same proportion of male and female participants.

The results did not confirm our hypothesis. If they had shown significance, this would demonstrate that the way people talk about numbers affects how they mentally visualize them. In general, this would show that language has an effect on people's mental representation of numbers.

As an additional source of information, we analyzed a corpus of Spanish, German and English newspaper articles. We chose articles on the topics of elections, stock markets, unemployment statistics, birth rates and gas prices to make sure they included many numbers. Then we counted the appearances of percentages, fractions and absolute numbers. It turned out that in all languages, percentages are the most used representation of numbers. Of the three languages, the English-language articles utilized the most percentages. This shows that standard, written languages actually do use percentages a lot more than fractions. The results of the newspaper analysis are contradictory to the results of the experiment.

All three languages make very little use of fractions in their writing. This might just relate to newspaper writing style and does not necessarily lead to any predictions about the use of fractions in spontaneous speech, as was tested in the experiment.

Experiments regarding linguistic relativity usually are based on spontaneous behavior. As writing is not a spontaneous act but rather a very planned and elaborate one, we do not think that the frequent appearance of percentages in newspaper articles refutes the hypothesis.

A possible explanation for the stronger appearance of percentages in Spanish and German speech is the use of the metric and imperial systems of measurements. The metric system is based on multiples of 10 or 100, so every numerical unit is very easy to convert to percentages. In the imperial system, a unit normally results from the multiplication of another unit by 3 or 12. This makes it harder to calculate percentages.

# INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS DRAWING ON CULTURAL SCHEMATA: CURRICULUM IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ESL CLASSROOM

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## ABSTRACT

This paper takes a social constructivist position of institutionality and identity in exploring the talk of international students in a university English as a second language (ESL) course. Blending ethnomethodology and poststructuralism, the analysis focuses on the interactional work being accomplished by the students as they participate in a classroom small-group discussion task. Results show that when participants were confronted with unfamiliar content from the target culture, they were able to engage in schematic inferencing to accomplish a pedagogical task. Implications of this study relate to classroom identities of second language learners and cultural content in ESL curriculum.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Research into second language learner identity has highlighted that the linguistic and cultural resources that students bring with them into a classroom can have powerful and often unpredictable effects on learning (Menard-Warwick, 2005). As an educator of English as a second language (ESL) learners, I observe that within classroom contexts, students engage in a variety of communicative tasks, many of which ask them to draw on understandings of their own ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, and I am faced with the challenge of apprenticing my students into roles that will equip them with the necessary skills to successfully participate in English speaking communities without diminishing their existing identities. The motivation for this study comes from my experiences as a teacher in an ESL classroom and the questions that I have about my students' understanding of the cultural content that they encounter in the classroom. The data collected for this study comes from a language program at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. The focus of the analysis is the interactional work being accomplished by the students as they participate in small-group discussions with one another. The findings reveal interesting insights into how the participants used shared knowledge flexibly and creatively to attend to a pedagogical task. Following my analysis, I discuss certain emergent concepts that have been drawn *emically* from the data: specifically, the concepts of cultural schema and multiple identities. I begin by presenting my conceptual framework for this study, which adopts a view of classrooms as institutions and as sites where identities are discursively produced.

## 2.0. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1. Classrooms as Institutions

I take the position that schools and classrooms are institutions that involve certain expectations about how to act and what to say. In other words, classrooms are conventionally made up of teachers and students who are required to accommodate institutional roles and abide by certain norms and behaviors. For example, teachers typically ask students questions, provide texts and materials to be used in class, and prepare and deliver lectures. In contrast, students typically answer the teacher's questions, follow class instructions, take notes during lectures, and so on. Teacher and student responsibilities are relatively defined in the classroom, and it would be unconventional if, for instance, a student were to decide the final course grades of her classmates.

When classrooms are viewed as institutions, then the discourse that takes place in them can be thought of as *institutional talk*. Institutional talk is fundamentally different from that of ordinary, everyday conversations that take place, for example, between friends or family members. In contrast, classroom discourse is organized around predetermined schemata. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) have identified three features of institutional talk that are relevant to the data for this study: (a) asymmetrical speaking rights, (b) macrostructures and goal orientations, and (c) identity alignment with institutions. In classroom talk, asymmetrical speaking rights refers to the pre-allocated nature of turn-taking systems; namely, teachers, as institutional authorities, more often act as question-askers, and students, who must abide by institutional norms, more often act as question-answerers. Macrostructures and goal orientations highlight that classroom discourse is driven and structured by the goals and agendas of the institution. The explicit objective of the language classroom as an institution may be language learning, yet an implicit, or hidden, curriculum of learning may be how to succeed as a university student. The third characteristic of institutional talk, identity alignment with

institutions, can be seen in the linguistic devices used by speakers including the use of personal pronouns (e.g., “We are students in Ms. Kim’s class and *our* school’s mascot is the tigers.”), the use of a specialized lexicon (e.g., “Read the *handout* in your *discussion circles*.”), and the way that utterances may take on new pragmatic meanings (e.g., class-opening small talk functioning to activate students’ prior knowledge of a topic) (Drew and Sorjonen, 1997). It is important to stress that the institutional nature of classroom discourse cannot be presupposed or assumed. Rather, it has to be displayed by the speakers and empirically located in their talk.

## 2.2. Identities in Classroom Talk

In addition to the institutional identities enacted by students, a range of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities are “talked into being” in educational contexts, and, therefore, the notion that identities are social constructions that take place in and through discourse is fundamental to this study. From a social constructivist perspective, people use language to create social worlds (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2001) and thus, institutionality and identity (as well as culture, race, gender, class, etc.) are conceived of as social constructs, the products of discursive practices, rather than fixed, static phenomena. An understanding of identity as a socially constructed event supposes, “the self comes to be defined by its position in social practice” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 24). As Benwell and Stokoe explain:

A constructivist approach examines people’s own understandings of identity and how the notion of inner/outer selves is used rhetorically, to accomplish social action. [W]e understand who we are to each other in this public and accountable realm. . . . Who we are to each other, then, is accomplished, disputed, ascribed, resisted, managed and negotiated in discourse. (p. 4)

Identity, therefore, is more than one’s sense of self; more accurately, it is “who we are to each other” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 4). At the level of talk, members work together to accomplish both a sense of self and a relationship to each other in the larger social world. Thus, a person’s identity is co-constructed by the participants in a given interaction, in that it is evoked as a reaction to the activities of others (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006).

To gain an understanding of the discursive construction of language learner identities, I believe that it is necessary to consider the interactional work of speakers as a basis for investigating social and institutional forces affecting language use and identity formation. However, in moving from an *emic* to an *etic* perspective, poststructuralist theories of discourse and identity can offer analysts further insights into the social realm of discourse and identity construction, with which constructivist approaches are generally not concerned.

A poststructuralist position reveals that, in contrast to essentialist accounts of identity that may label individuals based on gender, race, or ethnicity, a person’s sense of self is not rigid or constant; more accurately, it is “fluid, fragmentary, [and] contingent” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 17). Through discursive practices, people may orient to multiple identities that often contradict each other and change over time and across contexts. Researchers who align with poststructuralist ideas are interested in how identities emerge in different ways depending on constellations of discourses. These discourses are understood to be acting upon speakers, and speakers can operate with agency to resist certain discourses, to accept others, or to transform them. Therefore, in interacting with these discourses, a person’s identity is constantly shifting, changing, and transforming. This view of identity is useful for looking beyond the moment-by-moment aspects of identity that take place in talk. For example, using the data in this study, drawn from a classroom small-group interaction, I show that the nature of identity is fluid in that sometimes, institutional identities are enacted by participants, while in other cases they are not enacted, and that various other non-institutional identities can also be made relevant by speakers.

Hence, I take an integrated stance toward classroom talk because I believe that examining situated examples of language use is an essential starting point for analysis. Yet, I view classroom discourse as embedded in a larger social context, acknowledging that speakers are both the producers and the products of language (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, 1987), both the masters and the slaves of language (Barthes, 1982). Figure 1 illustrates this conceptualization of the relationship between language, identity, and the social world:

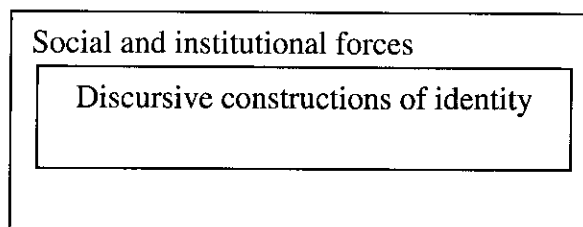


Figure 1: Discursively Produced Identities Embedded in Larger Social Contexts

### 3.0. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

This study takes a discursive psychological approach to analyzing interactional data, as established by Margaret Wetherell (1998). Wetherell situates discursive psychology (DP) as an anti-realist, anti-cognitivist approach to theorizing psychological states, such as attitudes, emotions, memories, and identity, and takes discursive practices as its object of analysis. DP can be used to study how people talk about, or construct, psychological things, how such accounts accomplish a range of social actions, and how speakers use the resources that are available to them to create and negotiate representations of the world and the self.

Wetherell's (1998) version of DP, often referred to as critical discursive psychology, takes an eclectic, integrated stance toward discourse analysis by drawing from both ethnomethodology and poststructuralism. She uses the tools of conversation analysis, which traditionally restricts analysis to the situated discursive practices of participants (Schegloff, 1992), to analyze interactional data. However, Wetherell situates such interactional sequences within an historical context, recognizing that "when people talk, they do so using a lexicon or repertoire of terms which has been provided for them by history" (Edley, 2001, p. 190). She expands the "molecular analysis" beyond the level of talk by conducting a "molar analysis" of the discourses surrounding speakers and influencing their talk (Wetherell, 1998, p. 388).

From a critical DP perspective, speakers engaged in everyday social interaction draw upon and use certain linguistic resources available to them to achieve a shared understanding about objects and events in the world (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). These linguistic resources are referred to as *interpretive repertoires*; they are like storylines circulating "out there" that speakers use in their talk. For Edley (2001), "conversations are usually made up of a patchwork of 'quotations' from various interpretive repertoires" (p. 198). As Wetherell (1998) explains, "interpretive repertoires" are "culturally familiar and habitual line[s] of argument comprised of recognizable themes, common places and tropes" that make up any community's sense-making methods; they provide a basis for shared social understanding, and they organize speakers' accounts (pp. 400–401). The notion of interpretive repertoires is relevant to this study because, as the data shows, students involved in a communicative classroom task make use of storylines, tropes, themes, and places that are part of their English language repertoire to align with their institutional roles as students. Figure 2 shows how classroom talk occurs amidst extra-discursive representations of the world (i.e. interpretive repertoires), which mediate constructions of identity that take place in the classroom, and how these processes are shaped by the norms and expectations of the educational institution:

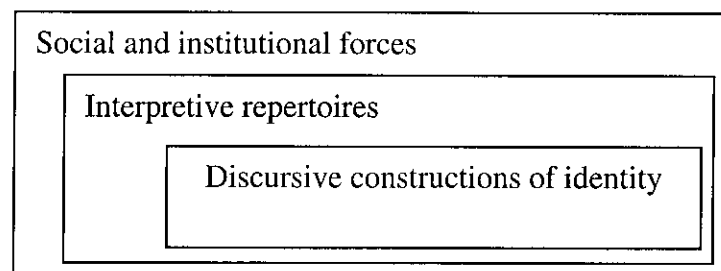


Figure 2: Constructions of Identity Mediated by Interpretive Repertoires



Following Wetherell (1998, 2007), I aim to conduct a fine-grained analysis of interactional data, based on participants' orientations, or members' methods (ethnomethodology), using the tools of membership categorization analysis (Sacks, 1972, 1979, 1992). The aim of membership categorization analysis (MCA) is to discover how people arrange commonsense knowledge into categories by studying the ways people use language to organize objects, activities, and actions into collections in their talk. These collections are connected to certain actions, features, or other characteristics that are "expectable for a category incumbent to perform or possess" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 39). Both explicitly and implicitly indexed categories and category-bound actions, features, and predicates that emerge in participants' responses to previous turns of talk are inherently *emic* in nature, as they are based on the members' (rather than the analyst's) perspectives. Identifying *emic* categories is especially significant when attempting to uncover how institutional and identity categories are shown to be real by participants in an interaction.

However, a poststructuralist analysis must go beyond the level of talk and consider the extra-discursive aspects of discourse so as to provide insights into how participants use linguistic resources circulating in the social world to construct multiple and fragmentary selves. The objective of my analysis is, therefore, to examine the discursive construction of institutional identity among English language learners engaged in a small-group discussion, and to find out how interpretive repertoires are used by speakers in a classroom setting to co-construct knowledge of the social world for various interactional purposes.

#### 4.0. DATA COLLECTION, CONTEXT, AND PARTICIPANTS

The data for this study come from audio-recordings of 12 small-group interactions, each 10 to 20 minutes long, which took place in April and May 2008 in an ESL class that I was teaching at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. This was a content-based course that developed out of student interest in learning about clothing and fashion. I designed the materials relevant to the data for this study around themes and issues related to clothing and fashion, which served as a springboard for learning an integrated set of English language skills. The participants in this study were intermediate level English language learners who were taking this course as preparation for the TOEFL<sup>1</sup> test or for entry into undergraduate or graduate degree programs in Hawai'i or the mainland US. The participants' ethnic and linguistic repertoires are presented in Table 1<sup>2</sup>:

Table 1: Backgrounds of Participants<sup>3</sup>

Participant	Gender	L1	C1
Kelly	Female	Korean	Korea
Naoto	Male	Japanese	Japan
Rin	Female	Japanese	Japan
Soon-yi	Male	Korean	Korea

With the written consent of the students, I began recording small-group tasks, activities, and discussions as they occurred in this classroom and then transcribed the interactions following conventions adapted from Atkinson and Heritage (1984)<sup>4</sup>.

#### 5.0. RESULTS

In this section, I present one excerpt of talk that reveals how interpretive repertoires circulate at the social level, but they can also be identified in talk. The data also shows how linguistic resources are used by participants to maintain their institutional roles as "on-task" students and at the same time construct new and multiple identities. For this lesson, students began by watching a YouTube video<sup>5</sup> of animal rights activists protesting the use of fur at a fashion show. Next, the students were asked to read a short text about the incident and discuss in groups their opinions about using fur for fashion. At the beginning of the excerpt, students are responding to a question about whether farming and killing animals for fashion is any different from farming them and killing them for their meat.

##### Excerpt 1: Institutional Roles and Task Orientation

98. K I think like uh farming animal for meat (.) for eating like similar

99. with like you know like KFC chicken farm. (.) Did you see? (.) They put  
 100. many chickens and they cannot move (.) just they eat  
 101. R It's kind of disgusting=  
 102. K =yea:.....  
 103. R After I heard that story I couldn't eat KFC for a while (.5) ↑But now I eat  
 104. ((laughter))  
 105. N Of course (.) these things are still acceptable [right?]=  
 106. K [Yea:::]  
 107. N =because we need chickens. (2.5) Otherwise the maybe the price  
 108. of chickens will go up, [so.  
 109. K [Yea:.....  
 110. ( ) (xxx)  
 111. S ((Reading from handout)) How do you feel about animal rights groups  
 112. like PETA disrupting fashion shows in order to [protest against using fur?  
 113. N [this people doesn't  
 114. eat animals?  
 115. R I think they are ↑vegetarian  
 116. N Or are they just talking about uh fashion?  
 117. K [Yea:a] fur (.) clothing  
 118. R [Yea:a]  
 119. (3.0)  
 120. S I have a question. Do we have to eat meat (1.0) to maintain our (.5) health?  
 121. R We don't need meat to uh like (.5) [just like]  
 122. N [You] drink milk  
 123. R or tofu  
 124. K yea tofu  
 125. ((Teacher interrupts))

Kelly begins by establishing *farming animals for meat* and *confining chickens to small spaces* as category-bound activities of the KFC franchise. Rin displays knowledge of this in line 101 through uptake and evaluation of such practices as being "kind of disgusting" and goes on to provide an account for how this "story" prevented her from dining at KFC. This is followed by a brief pause and a shift: *now* she eats KFC food again. The other participants orient to the irony of Rin's story through a display of laughter. Naoto self-selects the next turn and reevaluates the ethics of farming chickens as an "acceptable" social practice. He accounts for this with the reasoning that an alternative approach to farming chickens would inflate prices. Naoto's turn is only cursorily taken up by Kelly, who provides a somewhat perfunctory response, "yea," as she does throughout the interaction. In line 111, Soon-yi takes a turn and reads aloud from the class handout, clearly displaying his institutional identity as a student who is advancing the group to the next discussion question. Naoto's turn overlaps with Soon-yi's when he asks whether members of animal rights groups "eat animals." Rin and Naoto then co-construct *vegetarianism* as a category-bound feature of *animal rights activists*. In line 116, Naoto personifies the discussion question by using the pronoun *they* and with the help of Kelly and Rin (lines 117-118), he veers the group away from discussing further about animal rights activists being vegetarians and orients them back to the task topic: clothing and fashion. Here Naoto, Kelly, and Rin are enacting institutional identities by focusing the talk back to the task agenda. After a significant three second pause (line 119), Soon-yi self-selects a turn and poses a question pertaining to eating meat and physical health. Although it is not apparent from the interaction, the final task on the handout asked students to "think of one more discussion question for the class" and "write it on the board." Thus, along with the other group members' contributions in the previous turns of talk, Soon-yi is also aligning with his institutional role as an on-task student by sticking closely to the handout and producing an original discussion question for his classmates to talk about. In the last three turns of talk, Naoto, Rin, and Kelly respond to Soon-yi's question and display knowledge of healthful nutrition, namely, that a person does not need to eat meat to stay healthy as long as he or she consumes milk or tofu.

## 6.0. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The data excerpt reveals that the participants are orienting to their institutional roles as on-task students, working together to accomplish the task, namely, to answer the discussion questions on the handout.

However, the students experience difficulty in orienting to the interpretive repertoires brought into the interaction by the task: repertoires of animal rights activist groups, public protest and demonstration, and the ethics of using fur for fashion. When unable to make sense of these unfamiliar repertoires, they divert from the task and establish their own interpretive repertoires including a repertoire about the mistreatment of animals by KFC, an ethics of confining animals as legitimated by consumerism, a repertoire surrounding vegetarianism, and milk and tofu as acceptable substitutes for animal meat. A disconnect can be seen here between the linguistic resources of the participants and the institutionalized task due to the cultural schemata informing the lesson, which were unfamiliar to the students and were not a part of their interpretive repertoires. The themes of the lesson (animal rights activism, public protest, wearing fur) had little relevance to the students' lives or experiences, and therefore they struggled to talk about these controversial issues in English<sup>9</sup>. Despite this disparity, interpretive repertoires allowed the speakers to engage in a different kind of schematic inferencing to establish their own set of interpretive repertoires, which indicates that they were using English in meaningful ways. Doing so made it possible for them to nonetheless orient to their institutional roles and accomplish the task of discussing questions from the handout.

A second finding involves Soon-yi's use of the pronouns *we* and *our* in line 120, which constructs all participants as belonging to a common discourse community and provides an opportunity for them to affirm or reject this co-membership; Rin co-constructs this in line 121 with the pronoun *we*. This is significant because eating meat is not constructed in the interaction as a culture-bound practice; therefore, the cultural identities of the participants are not made relevant here or in any other instance in this excerpt. Hence, interpretive repertoires provided the speakers with opportunities to construct a range of identities including *consumer*, *expert on nutrition*, and *on-task student*. This is in keeping with Zimmerman's (1998) findings that the situated identities of participants may be more salient than their cultural/ethnic/national identities. This finding is particularly interesting because discussions in ESL classrooms often focus on differences among students' first cultures (Kubota, 2004), which may create cultural dichotomies that embody reductionist and essentialist ideologies of cultural difference. The data presented in this study, however, illustrates that institutional identities provide students with opportunities to move beyond the compare-contrast approach to discussing cultural content by establishing multiple identities among the group members despite differences in their ethnic and linguistic backgrounds.

A prominent theme that emerged from the data relates to determining the content of curriculum used in ESL classes. By incorporating a range of schema into existing curricula, teachers may help students draw on interpretive repertoires in their attempts to accomplish classroom tasks. Introducing content that is relevant and meaningful to students into curricula may, in addition to legitimizing their existing identities and enabling them to act as experts in the classroom, allow students to inference a wider array of interpretive repertoires. This would require students to access a greater number of linguistic resources and ultimately, lead to increased opportunities for language learning. Additionally, teachers can promote the practice of students actively determining the content of their own classroom tasks, which may result in richer classroom interactions that provide ESL students with spaces for cross-cultural understanding.

## NOTES

1. TOEFL stands for *Test of English as a Foreign Language*. According to the website of the Educational Testing Service ([www.ets.gov/toefl](http://www.ets.gov/toefl)), the company that administers the TOEFL, more than 6,000 colleges and universities in 110 countries require TOEFL scores from international applicants.
2. All names are pseudonyms
3. I adopt *emic* rather than *etic* approaches to analyzing interactional data in this paper, yet I have included the students' *prima facie* identities to show how they sometimes differ from their discursively produced identities.
4. See the Appendix A for transcript symbols.
5. *Cavalli show disrupted by animal rights activists*. Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rDGjYICwis>
6. KFC is a US-based fast-food chain that specializes in fried chicken. KFC is a global brand, therefore, Rin could be membershiping herself as expert on Japanese or global practices and not necessarily American practices.

7. Although it could be argued that these or similar activities can be found in the students' home cultures, the participants are not members of those cultural sub-groups and, therefore, they are not able to draw on such interpretive repertoires.

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# A STUDY OF CASUAL CONVERSATION IN A MULTICULTURAL GROUP: HOW IS PARTICIPANTS' ETHNIC CATEGORIZATION CONSTRUCTED IN TALK?

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## ABSTRACT

This paper uses conversation analysis (CA) to analyze an audiotaped casual lunch conversation among graduate students from Japan, Korea, Malaysia and Vietnam to illustrate how participants construct interculturality by displaying their expertise in discussions about diverse cultural practices. The analysis also focuses on how these multicultural students launch topical talk in their casual lunch conversation and how they categorize their membership identity in and through talk in regard to their discourse identities, and social identities. The participants in the data presented in this article repeatedly produce a common set of questions that indicate their presupposition of the other participants' ethnic categorizations. The findings of this study suggest that multicultural interactions about specific cultural practices do not necessarily lead to the enactment of cultural difference among participants. Instead, participants may try to find common ground so that they can diminish and discard cultural differences.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Like the saying, 'So many men, so many minds', every single one of us has an identity. One person's identity is constructed and becomes distinctive when the person interacts with another person of a different ethnicity, gender, religion, occupation, physical location, social class, kinship or preference for leisure activities (Wardhaugh, 2006). In today's multicultural and multilingual world, interactions across cultural and linguistic boundaries are drastically increasing, and at the same time the importance of intercultural understanding is being emphasized. Otherwise, a lack of shared interactional strategies and cultural knowledge could cause intercultural misunderstanding (House, 2003). According to Mori (2003), recent studies with the use of a Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) or Conversation Analysis (CA) approach have verified that participants indicate the relevance or irrelevance of interculturality through interaction. In this vein, the relevance of interculturality is a co-constructed accomplishment in which participants show that their cultural differences are important for interaction. Zimmerman (2007) also investigates how participants from Korea and Japan accomplish interculturality when they engage in talk about Korean cultural practices which construct participants' national and ethnic identities.

This paper examines casual conversation over lunch among Japanese, Korean, Malaysian and Vietnamese graduate students who live in the same international dormitory and frequently interact with one another. The purpose of the study is to look at how participants construct interculturality by displaying their expertise in talks about diverse cultural practices. The reason for choosing this particular context is that when more than two participants are involved in a conversation, the distribution of opportunities to talk naturally goes beyond simple alternation patterns (Mori, 2003). In addition, this context is interesting to me in that it features participants with different cultures, experiences, first languages (L1), majors, and sexes interacting and making sense of their world in their second language (L2), English. Based on Mori's (2003), analytic framework, this examination uncovers how these multicultural students launch topical talk in their casual lunch conversation and how they categorize their membership identity in and through talk in regard to their discourse identities, and social identities.

## 2.0. DATA COLLECTION

The data for this paper come from one casual communicative activity involving four participants, Didy, Minsu, Saho and Vanh, (all participants' names are pseudonyms). They are students in a graduate program in the state of Hawai'i. As I have lived in the same dormitory as the other participants since August 2008, we have known each other and sometimes have eaten together. All other participants gave their permission for me to audio-record the casual conversation over lunch. The lunch table talk lasted about one hour and was recorded in its entirety with an MP3 recorder. I have to acknowledge that the following analysis of the data is limited as the activities were only audio-recorded, even though they involved a large number of

participants and lots of non-verbal behaviors (e.g. visible actions, interactions with material objects and speaker gazes).

### 3.0. ANALYSIS

As mentioned earlier, Mori's (2003) study of initial encounters between Japanese and American students has informed the analytic framework of this paper. However, the current study differs from Mori's in its participants' nationalities and level of familiarity with each other. It is important to recognize that the participants in this study, unlike Mori's participants, are not new acquaintances, and none of them are from the same country. This difference seems to have some impact on the categorizations and the talk; participants in this study tend to talk to one another more intimately and participate more actively with various topics.

Considering those differences, this study adopts the first analytic notion of categorization, which can be accomplished by an explicit reference to a particular category in conversation, or by an inference drawn from a reference to social activity that is bound to a particular category (Mori, 2003). In the excerpt from the current data, for example, participants are observed asking about one another's academic major, home residence, local residence, and so on. By asking these questions, the participants are categorizing their coparticipants according to those social categories, and at the same time, they are displaying a more general category by determining their commonalities.

Secondly, discourse identity is also an important notion that will be examined in this study. Discourse identities indicate the classification of participants' immediate positions in their constant lunch table talk. For instance, when one participant asks a question, the other participants can be projected as the respondents or recipients of the question. These discourse identities, such as questioner-respondent or teller-recipient, constantly shift as the participants develop the conversation.

Thirdly, social identities, such as that of being a woman or being Asian, are constructed through sequential development of talk and social actions. As stated in the introduction, this study focuses on how the participants in the recorded data make visible their social identities. Thus, this paper analyzes the multicultural participants' interactional processes of categorization and the discourse identities observed in the current data, and then discusses how these processes reflect social identities.

### 4.0. CULTURAL EXPERTISE: KIMCHI

According to Benwell and Stokoe (2007), identity is dynamically constructed, rather than reflected, in discourse. Identity is performed, constructed or produced, moment to moment, in everyday conversation like this conversation over lunch. This section will consider how participants' identities are constructed through discourse and indicate the classification of participants' immediate positions in their constant kitchen table conversation. This section will examine how the participants construct the role of 'cultural expert' when discussing a cultural practice. The cultural expert identity can be produced through participants' orientation to an elicitation of information about their culture. In extract 1, Minsu is identified as an expert on the Korean cultural food, kimchi. His membership categorization is constructed by the other participants' questioning and by his self-identification. The cultural item, kimchi, is a pickled vegetable such as cabbage or radish that is garnished with a spicy sauce and commonly served in Korea. Before extract 1, all participants except Didy tasted kimchi while having their lunch.

#### Extract 1

1. Didy Can I taste?
2. Minsu OH of course! You should. It's for us. Here here you should.
3. Saho <I wanna go to Palama.>(0.3)
4. Minsu Oh. when?
5. Vanh Minsu. This is: This is what you bought in Palama?
6. Minsu Yeah
7. Vanh Oh, is it right that Kimchi in Palama is better than in Don Qujote or other super market

8. Didy [Palama?  
 9. Minsu Oh! Of course. Don Quijote Kimchi [is::: yeah::: it tastes:::  
 10. Didy [No good.  
 11. Saho There are several some two or three kinds of Kimchi and I took some Hawaiian Kimchi  
 Hawaiian made Kimchi.  
 12. Minsu [you regret?  
 13. Saho Yeah.  
 14. Vanh [Oh. really?  
 15. Saho It was not good. Maybe Don Quijote have some Korean made Kimchi too.  
 16. Minsu Oh, I: I: I didn't know.

At the beginning of this extract 1, the topic changes right after Didy mentions food. In line 2, Minsu emphasizes the word *us*, indicating his concern about the newly formed group and its members. In the next line, Saho expresses her wish to go to Palama. Saho's statement makes all the recipients categorize themselves into the category related to the object, Palama, which is a Korean supermarket located in Hawai'i. All of the participants have heard about or visited the Palama market. That fact implies that all of the recipients share background knowledge about the supermarket. However, in line 4, it is Minsu who reacts to Saho's talk about Palama. The pause between line 3 and 4 in this discourse also suggests that all of the other participants treat Minsu as the most prominent recipient of Saho's statement. In line 7, Vanh asks a question about kimchi. This question seems to be open to anyone, though Minsu is possibly prioritized as a recipient given that the previous turns have been directed at Minsu. The fact that Minsu answers which place is better for kimchi identifies Minsu as an expert on the Korean cultural item, kimchi.

In the discourse between lines 3 and 7, Minsu's ethnic membership categorization is constructed with voluntary and involuntary responses. In line 9, Minsu's response to Vanh's question seems to be contradictory. At first Minsu answers in a strong tone of voice which establishes his authoritative position as a Korean but right after that he offers a significantly long sound stretch. This long stretch indicates his effort in searching for words to answer the question. His hesitant answer can be understood in many ways. One possible implication is that Minsu may not have enough knowledge to compare the taste of kimchi from Palama and Don Quijote. Another possible analysis is that he may know the answer but is trying to be careful in addressing which is better and which is worse. The reason behind the ambiguity of Minsu's response in line 9 is clearly revealed in line 16: he does not have the background knowledge to reply to Vanh. Saho reveals in line 11 that she does have some of this background knowledge, but she delays judgment on the various stores' kimchi until Minsu, a Korean participant, shares his judgment about kimchi.

Finally, in line 15, Saho passes her judgment on the kimchi. Her authoritative status is postponed until after the "Korean" has spoken, which is a significant recognition of his cultural identity. It also reveals that Saho has cultural expertise about Korean food as well, but to a lesser degree or a more hesitant degree. Minsu's line 16 also suggests his self-categorization as the Korean cultural expert who should be able to answer Vanh's question in line 7. To sum up, the categorization of national identities and the cultural practice are found in Figure 1 below. Minsu indexes himself as an expert on the Korean cultural item, kimchi, and his authoritative status is also being categorized by other participants in excerpt 1. However, when his responsibility as the Korean cultural expert is challenged by Vanh's desire to know specific information related to a Korean cultural item, Saho, who identifies herself as possessing a non-expert knowledge of Korean culture, answers Vanh's question instead of Minsu. Excerpt 1 is a collaborative conversation about Korean cultural items between the Korean cultural expert and the non-Korean who has some knowledge of Korean culture.

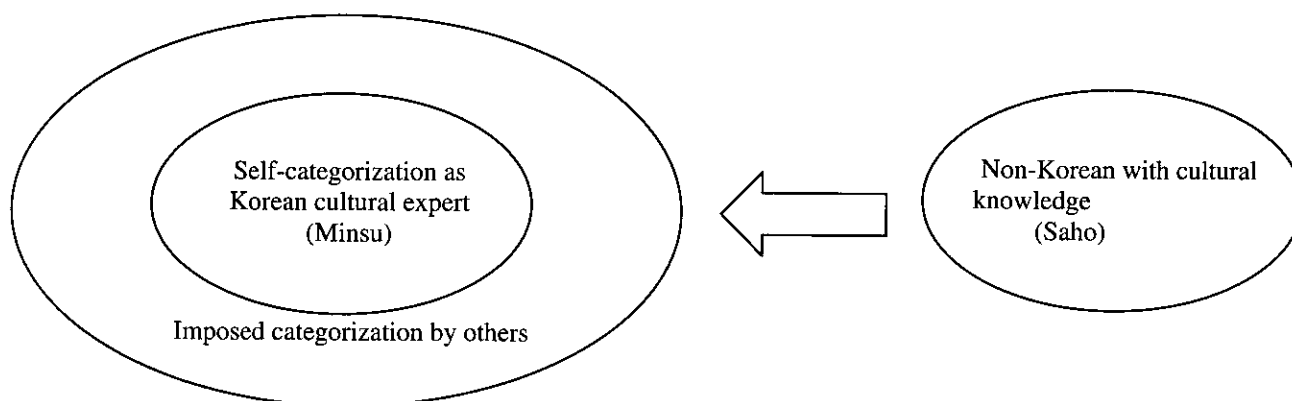


Figure 1: Collaboration between the Korean Cultural Expert and Outsider with Some Knowledge

### 5.0. CULTURAL EXPERTISE: NORI

At the beginning of extract 2, participants are talking about one of their neighbors, Claire, and her nationality. In line 6, they change the subject to nori (Japanese for *seaweed*.) By asking and answering questions, Saho is identified as a Japanese cultural and linguistic expert.

#### Extract 2

1. Didy Claire? from a: from a: Ma: Ma: Malaysia?
2. Mins: Yeah
3. Vanh [Philippine=
4. Minsu [No from Malaysia.
5. Vanh I thought she is a Filipino.
6. Minsu Uh:::m, try this seaweed
7. Vanh Oh, thank you.
8. Saho [thank you.
9. Minsu In Japanese what: what: what: do you call it?
10. Saho What? Ah:: Nori.
11. Minsu [Nori?
12. Didy [Nori?
13. Saho Nori↑ No::ri↑
14. Didy [Nori
15. Vanh [Nori

A topic initial elicitor is an object that is designed to generate a new topic (Button and Casey, 1984). Topic initial elicitors explicitly provide a space for launching any mentionable, which has not yet been included in the conversation and at the same time signal that the speaker is available for further talk in the conversation. Through Vanh's line 5, participants are talking about Claire and her origin. In line 6, Minsu recommends seaweed to the other participants, and then the topic of the participants' talk moves to nori. An interesting point is that throughout the entire transcription, several more cases of topic changes are observed right after or before the participants' recommendation or request for a specific dish, such as, "try this seaweed", "try more kimchi", "Can I taste this?", "Isn't it spicy? Can I try?" and "Can I?" It seems that the participants are talking about various topics while eating, but when they arrive at the end of a conversation about a specific topic, one of the participants uses a food recommendation or request as a topic initial elicitor or topic intersection filler.

In line 9 from the extract 2, the participants seem to indicate their assumption that the Japanese co-participant has authority over matters concerning Japanese language. When Saho answers "nori," *seaweed* in Japanese, all of the other participants repeat the word. This strongly indicates that they are not members of the same category as Saho, and that she should be the expert on naming this type of food in Japanese. The other



three participants' successive repetition of *nori* shows their interest in this newly categorized group of members with no Japanese expertise and their effort to share their membership as a Japanese novice. Participants' grouping themselves into two 'teams' - the expert, Saho, and the rest of the participants - is found in Figure 2.

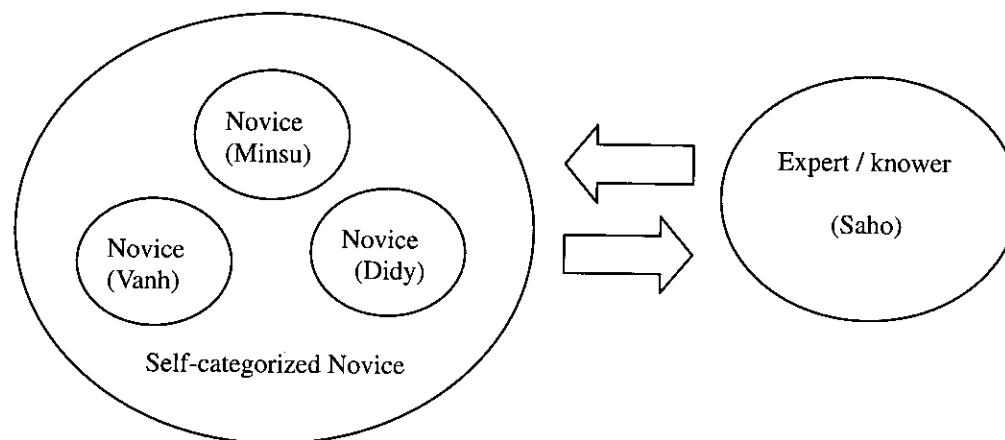


Figure 2: Grouping of Categorization: Categories of Novices and the Expert/Knower

This grouping occurs very often throughout the entire transcription and is similar to the teams found in Mori's (2003) work. Mori showed how participants grouped themselves into "givers" and "receivers" of information in order to clarify cultural terms that were unknown to some of the participants. However, recall that Mori's (2003) article centers on multiparty interactions among Japanese and American students in their initial encounters. In this study, by contrast, the primary activity at this casual lunch table is eating rather than talking and the participants' national/cultural expertise are all different. So, inevitably, participants tend to change their topics of lunch table talk, and the grouping of expert/knower and novice/non-knower occurs in the form of one expert with all the others as novices, rather than multiparty interaction.

## 6.0. CULTURAL EXPERTISE: USE OF CHOPSTICKS

In extract 3, participants start to talk about ways of holding chopsticks. Then they talk about perceptions of "poor" chopstick use and the problems it can cause in their cultures.

### Extract 3

1. Minsu yeah using three chop... fingers here and like this. This is a kind of standard that I learned but I am kinda lazy and this is hard for me so I usually use two fingers here and so the original one is three fingers here? This is kind of standard that I heard and learned from.
2. Vanh Yeah, it will be difficult to use three fingers.
3. Minsu Ye::ah like this: <three> fingers
4. Vanh ↑ Very nice ↓
5. Minsu In Japanese style:::
6. Saho [I'm using three fingers.
7. Vanh [I'm using only two.
8. Minsu Yeah this is what I do. This is what my parents taught me.
9. Vanh My parents just taught me not to close it...too close not to hold it close.
10. Minsu Mhm
11. Saho [my::: my::: parents
12. Vanh [I just use three or two fingers:::
13. Minsu Two fingers is easier huh?
14. Vanh I think so. It's easier for me.
15. Minsu When I do this my parents always punish and scold.
16. Vanh [Oh:::

17. Saho [Oh:::  
 18. Vanh It doesn't look nice?  
 19. Minsu Maybe::: sometimes older generation scold it OH your parents didn't teach you well.  
 20. Vanh Yeah:: like in Vietnam.  
 21. Minsu Oh really?  
 22. Vanh Yeah. if I did something if I close if I hold it too close it doesn't look nice and it shows that my my education is not good yeah.  
 23. Minsu Same in Korea.  
 24. Saho Yeah yeah it's also called the way of grabbing the pencil? ↑ Very strict. If its::;  
 25. Minsu [mm right right right

Discourse identities can be classified by the participants' immediate statuses in ongoing talk-in-interaction, and those classifications are associated through the sequential development of conversation in relation to the others present in the interaction (Mori, 2003). In extract 3, relative participation statuses, such as questioner-respondent or teller-recipient, are constantly shifting as those participants take conversational turns to develop talk-in-interaction.

In line 5, Minsu's elongated sound expresses a stance as a non-knower of Japan while at the same time presenting a new categorization of expertise in Japan. Even before the completion of his statement, Saho expresses her status as an expert on Japan. Vanh expresses her self-identification in line 7 (though not within the category of a cultural expert on Japan). Then, Minsu and Vanh describe their experiences learning how to use chopsticks from their parents. Though Minsu and Vanh are experts from different categorizations (Korea and Vietnam, respectively), they both seem to share similar cultural expertise on the proper use of chopsticks and from whom this knowledge comes (lines 8 and 9). In response to Minsu's comments about the poor use of chopsticks and cultural prejudice surrounding it in line 15, both Vanh and Saho attest similar prejudice in their cultures. Despite the fact that they are experts from different cultural memberships, their discovery of cultural similarity them together and leads them to categorize themselves as members of the same group in regard to the use of the cultural item, chopstick.

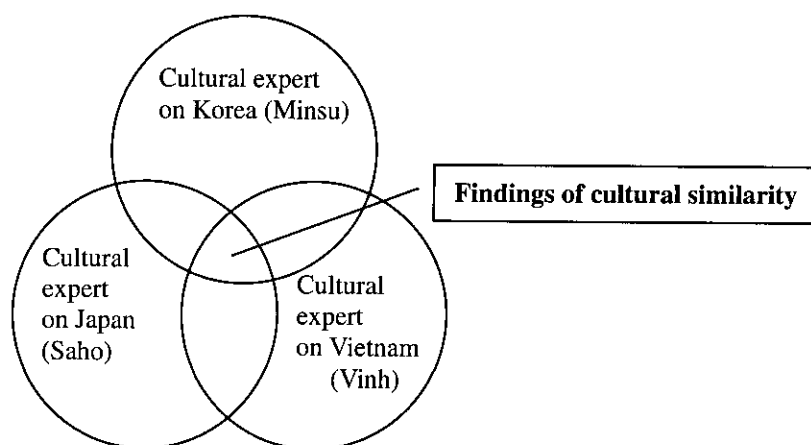


Figure 3: Sharing membership with cultural similarity

## 7.0. CULTURAL EXPERTISE: PENCIL GRASPING

In extract 4, participants draw on their own knowledge of cultural practices regarding pencil grasping and left-handedness.

### Extract 4

1. Minsu In Korea when we use left hand, then a lot of teachers and parents scold their child use right hand. Same?  
 2. Vanh mm::: Yeah in Vietnam too.

- |     |       |   |   |
|-----|-------|---|---|
| 3.  | Saho  | Really? I didn't know [Vietnam was... too strict.   |   |
| 4.  | Vanh  | [Children get punished if they hold pencils on left hand  |   |
| 5.  | Didy  |   | [left hand  |
| 6.  | Vanh  | How about in Japan?   |   |
| 7.  | Saho  | It was >also< strict <u>but</u> maybe:: these days it's more easier↑ Parents are more flexible↑, but <u>my</u> generation they <still are:n't>. |   |
| 8.  | Vanh: | Because it's kind of inconvenient for classmate who sits next to you.   | Didy: Minsu?<br>Minsu: yeah↑about something happens is a...<br>(0.3)                          |
| 9.  | Saho: | Oh really?  |   |
| 10. | Vanh: | Because the majority of the classmates are right hand so when you use left hand yeah.   | Didy: [really good↑ I think good:: but good then:: not: in: American ways. <u>Asian</u> ways. |

In the first line, Minsu uses the collective pronoun, *we* like Vahn and Saho do. He uses the pronoun, *we*, but in the same sentence in line 1, Minsu's use of the pronoun *they* closely implicate self-initiate classification differentiating him from the teachers and parents. In Vahn's line 2, her use of the adverb, *too*, implies her expertise on Vietnamese culture. In response to Vahn's comment on the case of Vietnam, Saho acts as one who is less knowledgeable about Vietnam and asks for clarification from Vahn, the expert. Then Vahn responds accordingly, demonstrating her role as the Vietnamese expert. Vahn in line 6 expresses a stance of non-knower about Japan, and then Saho expresses her status as an expert on Japan accordingly. One of the most noticeable features of conversation found in extract 4 is the speakers' turn taking in conversation. Speaker change is a normative process which must be achieved by participants in a conversation; turn-taking is a socially constructed behavior, not the result of an inevitable process (Liddicoat, 2007). In line 1, the current speaker, Minsu, selects Vahn to answer his question. In this case, the selected person has the right and obligation to take the next turn to speak, and no other participant has such rights or obligations.

In line 2, Vahn's use of prolonged token, *mm::* plays an important role. In reaction to Minsu's storytelling about left-handedness, only Vahn suggests her interest in the topic with the use of, *mm::*, and turn-taking in this conversation progresses smoothly. This also indicates that frequency of identity changes in the discourse closely relates to the socially constructed speaker's characteristics. According to extract 4, Vahn seems to be the most active and responsive participant, and seems to have more opportunities to change her discourse identities. Didy, on the other hand, appears to be the least dynamic participant and has fewer chances to shift his identities.

Persistence to completion is reflected in lines 3 and 4. Saho and Vahn appear to design their talk in overlap in order to bring their own talk to its projected completion. A schisming phenomenon occurs between lines 8 and 10 by Didy. Egbert (1993) describes the schism-inducing turn (SIT) as having three characteristics: (1) it causes a change in topic, (2) it is a first pair part action that initiates a new sequence and implicates a responsive second pair part action, and (3) it directly targets a specific recipient or recipients. In line 8, Didy addresses Minsu with a SIT – calling Minsu by name (targeting), then changes the topic. This schisming, initiated by Didy, can be understood in terms of discourse identity. Throughout the entire transcription, Didy has mostly played the role of recipient or, less often, respondent. Three out of total four schisming phenomena are initiated by Didy. This fact may indicate that schisming can be a useful turn-taking device for restoring or establishing participants' discourse identities.

## 8.0. CULTURAL EXPERTISE: COOKING

Social identities are closely related to discourse identities in that they are the sequential development of talk and of social actions in progress. However, social identities go beyond the particular moment of talk and refer to a social relationship between the participants in a particular social category, such as women or Japanese people (Mori, 2003). Extract 5 makes visible relevance of social identities such as being categorized according to gender and cultural expertise.

**Extract 5**

1. Saho Didy, did you help cooking when you were home?
2. Vanh no? ↑
3. Didy [no.
4. Saho no? boys [don't?
5. Vanh [is it common in Indonesia a man to cook?
6. Didy no no no uncommon yeah ↑ impolite
7. Saho >IMPOLITE? ↑ <
8. Vanh >really? ↑ <
9. Didy mhm
10. Minsu (laughter)
11. Saho really?
12. Vanh [why? (laughter)
13. Minsu how about:s how about in Vietnam?
14. Vanh mm:: Vietnamese men don't often cook. That is a business of women.

In line 1, Saho asks Didy whether he has ever helped with cooking before. Semantically, the sentence is rather ambiguous. It implies that the questioner, Saho, and the respondent, Didy, already know who usually cooks. Even though Saho directly asks the question of Didy, interestingly, Vanh indicates a possible answer, no, with rising tone, instead of Didy. As soon as Didy answers in line 3, both Saho and Vanh ask Didy another question. Saho in line 4 categorizes Didy as a male by asking him for clarification of Didy's statement. In line 5, Vanh's question establishes her as a non-expert about Indonesia, and the fact that Didy answers it establishes Didy as an expert or knower about such topics. From this example of asking and being surprising in pair clearly suggests visible relevance of social identities as being a man.

**9.0. CONCLUSION**

This paper analyzed the casual lunch table conversation among Japanese, Korean, Malaysian and Vietnamese graduate students who frequently interact with each other in the same international dormitory. Through this examination, this paper tries to underscore the importance of demonstrating the relevance of social and cultural distinction and categorization. This examination uncovered how these multicultural students launch topical talk in their casual lunch conversation and how they categorize their membership identity in and through talk in regard to their discourse identities, and social identities.

According to this current data, questions which indicate the participants' presupposition of the other participants' categorizations are frequently observed. What is significant in this current data is recurrent questions which indicate the assumed categories of the participants, such as questions regarding the food, language, and traditions of one another's countries. Discourse identities are also observed when one participant asks a question and the other participants are projected as the respondents of the question. These discourse identities, such as questioner-respondent or teller-recipient, constantly shift as the participants develop the conversation.

In the end, the findings of this study suggest that multicultural interactions about specific cultural practices do not necessarily lead to the enactment of cultural difference among participants. Instead, participants may try to find common ground so that they can diminish and discard cultural differences, as Figure 3. This study does not provide an explicit demonstration of how interculturality works; however, this analysis provides additional possibilities for how interculturality can be treated in multicultural talk.

## APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION NOTATION

(0.8)	Time gap in tenths of a second
(.)	Brief time gap
=	Latching of utterance segments
[ ]	Overlapping talk
.hh	In-breath
Hh	Out-breath
(( ))	Transcriber comment
-	Cut-off
:	Elongated sound
!	Emphatic tone
.	Falling intonation
,	Continuing intonation
?	Rising intonation
↑	Marked rise of immediately following segment
↓	Marked fall of immediately following segment
<u>Under</u>	Emphasis
CAPITALS	Increased volume
°	Decreased volume
> <	Increased speed
(xxx)	Unintelligible utterances
→	Line discussed in text

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# PAUSE FILLERS AND BACK-CHANNELS IN JAPANESE AND KOREAN DISCOURSE

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## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

In our daily lives, we engage in many types of linguistic activities, which serve to establish our various relationships with each other as members of a society. These linguistic activities vary according to culture and gender. For example, despite the strict hierarchical relations that order most societies, Asian cultures are regarded as "harmony-oriented cultures" while American cultures are often perceived as "argument cultures" (Tannen 1998). According to Tannen, Asian cultures such as Japanese, Chinese, Thai, and Vietnamese, place great value on avoiding open expressions of disagreement and conflict because they emphasize harmony. Therefore, Asian cultures are often regarded as "feminine" because of their universal characteristics of indirectness, unassertiveness, and politeness while Western cultures are regarded as "masculine." It is also generally assumed that Western people value clear statement of facts and avoid politeness, hesitation, indirectness, etc., which may be due to the intention towards others. It is considered to be characteristic of Western culture, therefore, not to use expressions that would add to ambiguity, indirectness or uncertainty.

However, from my experience as a speaker of the Asian languages Korean and Japanese, and English, a common Western language, this view seems to be too general to be realistic. Asian languages vary considerably in the use of the above-mentioned features such as ambiguity, indirectness, and uncertainty. I have especially observed that such features are much more overt in Japanese. When I started learning Japanese, I found some interesting linguistic aspects to keep the conversation going smoothly. I often wondered why Japanese people used expressions such as *hee* 'oh yeah', *a soo?* 'really?', *ne* 'right', *sooyo ne* 'yeah, I think so, too', and *hontooni?* 'really?' with exaggeration and often while moving their heads. At first, this kind of linguistic behavior gave me a rather positive impression because Japanese people seemed to encourage me to continue to speak although I couldn't speak very well. Their reactions were heart-warming and I started to regard myself as a good Japanese speaker who involved Japanese listeners into my conversation. Later, as I became more competent in Japanese, I was disappointed, noticing that native Japanese speakers used such expressions as part of interactional convention rather than to understand and agree with my opinion. Such expressions were used with equal frequency among Japanese speakers themselves.

As I observed their interactions with more care, I soon realized the functions of these interactional expressions were not the same. If the expressions such as *hee* 'oh yeah', *a soo?* 'really?', and *ne* 'right' are called back-channels, and are used to encourage or show interest towards the speaker, there was a group of expressions utilized in a speaker's discourse planning, such as *anoo*, *koo*, *ee*, and *nanka* which can be called "pause fillers." To those who are not proficient in Japanese, these pause fillers are convenient because they give the speaker time to think of what to say and because their usage is not only socially acceptable but also makes the nonnative speaker sound more like a native Japanese speaker. These fillers function to make the speaker sound more humble and unassertive.

These pause fillers and back-channels point to a contrastive difference between Japanese and Korean. For example, the use of pause fillers is socially acceptable in Japanese society to express hesitation, while it is not necessarily considered as such in Korean society. Japan and Korea are geographically very close and historians have confirmed that the two cultures have interacted with each other consistently since prehistoric times. Since they share many essential aspects of Asian culture, Korean and Japanese are perceived as the same or as very similar in terms of cultural values. It is true that Japanese and Korean cultures have a great deal in common, but it is misleading to think of them only in terms of their similarities. It is important to examine the differences between the two languages and cultures as well as to enhance mutual understanding. In this study, I assume that linguistic strategies in communication reflect prevalent cultural values, and that a comparative analysis should reveal the commonalities as well as differences between these two cultures.

Hence, the purpose of this study is to show that the two cultures use pause fillers (PF) and back channels (BC) differently. To clarify my purpose for this paper, I suggest some study questions:

1. What kinds of PF and BC forms and expressions are used?
2. What are their frequencies?
3. What kinds of characteristic do they have?
4. What kind of different characteristics do they show between Japanese and Korean?

By answering these research questions, we will see how Japanese and Korean differ linguistically and what kinds of social values PF and BC have in discursive usage.

## 2. 0. LITERATURE REVIEW

Cross-cultural linguistic studies in Japanese and Korean PF and BC are rare in America. There seems to be several reasons for this, but the first reason is, as I mentioned in the introduction, that humanities scholars often oversimplify the Korean language as one group within the Japanese linguistic/cultural family; thus, scholars have not expended much energy on comparative studies between the Japanese and Korean languages. The second reason is that Korean scholars have neglected to study Korean discourse features, and have mainly focused on linguistic aspects such as syntax. However, unlike the Korean language, the Japanese language has been studied actively in the field of sociolinguistics. Many scholars agree that there are various discourse features that make Japanese more amenable to linguistic studies. Accordingly, Japanese has been treated as representative of Asian languages and has often been the focus of cross-cultural comparisons with Western languages.

In this section, I will review studies about PF and BC, which have been conducted on the Japanese language and clarify how PF and BC can be characterized. Based on this review, I will move to my comparative study of Japanese and Korean PF and BC in the following sections.

### 2.1. Sociolinguistic Studies of Japanese PFs

The first scholar who noted the importance of PFs in Japanese discourse was John Hinds, who was the pioneer of Japanese discourse studies. Hinds (1975) describes the PFs *kono*, *sono*, and *ano* as "interjective demonstratives" and emphasizes that they are used to establish "a connection between the deictic and anaphoric sets of demonstratives in Japanese" (p.38). He argues that studying such communicative elements as these is very important in order to grasp a thorough meaning of an utterance. In a series of following studies, some scholars of Japanese sociolinguistics, such as Ide (1981), Reynolds (1984, 2000, 2001), and Maynard (1989) began to study Japanese PFs more carefully and found that Japanese fillers have various functions and play an important role in Japanese communication.

Ide (1981) classified Japanese fillers into three categories in terms of their linguistic forms as follows: (1) fillers that have no substantial meaning; (2) fillers whose original meanings have been bleached to various degrees; (3) fillers that indicate some vague meanings and different connotations. Ide's classification of PFs is meaningful in that she first formulated the types of Japanese PFs and the position where PFs appear can be an important clue to understand the speaker's cognition to use PFs. The use of PFs also seems to differ according to gender. According to Reynolds (1984), Japanese male speakers frequently use demonstrative fillers and what she calls, "vowel fillers." Unlike other lexical fillers such as *ano*, which is frequently used by Japanese female speakers, demonstrative fillers and vowel fillers can easily escape a listener's attention so that Japanese male speakers use them frequently to camouflage their hesitation for discourse planning. The different use of Japanese PF between men and women indicates that gender can be an important variable in determining the function of Japanese PFs.

Maynard (1989) divides Japanese pause fillers into two groups based on the motivations for their use: "language-based fillers" and "socially motivated fillers." The language-based fillers occur when the speaker has difficulty either cognitively (word-searching process) or productively (articulation process) exemplifying something, such as *uuunto*, *are*, *hora* 'uhh...that'. According to her, "socially motivated fillers" are frequently

used in Japanese conversation and have a function to create an impression that the speaker is somehow hesitant and less certain about the utterance so that the speaker can be perceived as having a modest attitude. The notion of "socially motivated fillers" by Maynard (1989) indicates that the use of PFs constitutes an important part of the Japanese communication, which places a great emphasis on harmonious interaction.

From the perspectives of Japanese PFs, PFs can be defined as items or expressions, which function primarily to fill a potential pause in discourse. They can be either lexical fillers or non-lexical fillers, but the lexical meaning of a PF has a close relationship with its primary function within discourse. That is, PFs do not contribute to the semantic content of a discourse but are used for the speaker's discourse planning such as holding a floor, formulation upcoming idea, and so on. The speaker's discourse planning is attributable not only to the speaker's cognitive reasons, but also to smooth social interaction.

## 2.2 Cross-linguistic study of Japanese BCs

BCs are the brief comments and utterances offered by the hearer in the middle of the speaker's utterance or right after the speaker finishes her/his utterance. It exists in all languages and is expressed as "umm", "uh-huh" and "yeah" in English, *un*, *hee*, and *hontoo?* in Japanese, and *yey*, *un* and *kulay* in Korean. Therefore, the phenomenon of backchanneling has been researched in various languages and there are active studies of *aizuchi* 'back-channel' in Japanese (Maynard, 1986, 1989; LoCastro, 1987; Horiguchi, 1991; Hayashi, 1996).

The word *aizuchi* in Japanese is originally derived from the idiom, *aizuchi o utsu*. This word originated from the image of two blacksmiths taking turns striking a heated piece of iron with a hammer. There is a similar expression for BC in Korean, which is *maccangkwi lul chita*. This expression originated from the image of two people facing each other to beat the *cangkwi*, a double-headed Korean drum. The expression of BC in Japanese and Korean is similar in that two people help each other to do something. That is, collaborative interaction between participants is very important. It also indicates that there exists a very similar concept of BC between the two languages.

BC research on cross-linguistic study is investigated by Maynard (1986, 1989) by comparing Japanese and English. Maynard (1986) reported that Japanese hearers used BCs 2.6 times more frequently than American English hearers. The position in discourse where BCs appear is also often unexpected from the viewpoint of speakers of languages like English. As to why Japanese BCs are so frequently used in Japanese interactive communication, Maynard (1989) claimed that Japanese has a different basic unit of turn-taking than English, which she termed 'Pause-bounded Phrasal Units (=PPU)'. PPU's are the smallest units intonationally and are grammatically fragmented. According to Maynard, PPU's are frequently followed by modality markers, such as auxiliary verbs and final particles that function to elicit a reaction from the hearer. Therefore, the ends of PPU's are very sensitive places in terms of interactional management strategies and impose an interactional burden on Japanese hearers. It also indicates that Japanese speakers frequently use conventionalized interactional strategies to request interactional support from hearers, and Japanese hearers actively accept the invitation for involvement in conversation.

Korean has a similar structure of word morphology to Japanese and provides similar turn-unit boundaries (Young and Lee, 2004). The investigation into how Japanese and Korean listeners in a similar turn construction unit facilitate BCs to achieve their purposes for interaction will provide an interesting cross-linguistic comparison, as well as PFs.

## 3.0. DATA COLLECTION

The main goal of the present study is to examine the differences in the use of PF and BC between Japanese and Korean discourse. For this study, it is very important to provide empirical evidence for comparing the two languages and cultures. My analysis is based on data collected from dyadic casual conversation. For the purpose of this study, I limited my observation to social variables such as gender, social status, age and situation, so that the potential effects of these factors would be minimized.



I collected conversational data from young Japanese and Korean native speakers in their twenties. Four male speakers and four female speakers of each language participated in this study, with four female pairs and four male pairs in total. The participants conversed naturally and informally in a setting where they did not feel excessive anxiety or tension. Although each pair engaged in conversation for as long as 30 minutes, only 20 minutes after the initial 5 minutes and before the final 5 minutes were analyzed for the purposes of this study.

Using the collected data, I investigated what types of PFs and BCs were used and how frequently they were used in each language. The type and the frequency of PFs and BCs are important methods of characterizing each language. By analyzing the contexts in which they occurred, I was able to focus on their functions and take a more comparative look at the two languages.

#### 4.0. RESULTS

In this section, based on the collected data, I will classify types of PF and BC, and make a quantitative analysis of PF and BC.

##### 4.1 Types of Pause Fillers

As discussed in section 2, the classification of Japanese PFs (Ide 1981, Maynard 1989) refers to a broad range of utterances. This includes BC fillers, which are characterized as the hearer's responses in interactional conversation. Although defining PFs is difficult and their definition differs among scholars, it is important to have a consistent view to classify the types of PFs for my study. I will define PFs as non-grammatical elements that appear freely in a sentence and as the speaker's management for discourse planning.

In my study, I will not consider those fillers that have a sentence structure as well as BC expressions and interactional particles. Examples of PFs which have sentence structure are the Japanese phrases *nandaroo* 'just as one thought', and *nante yuu no kana* 'what is that?', 'how can I say?', and the Korean phrases *mweci?*, *kukey mwetela?* 'what's that?' Examples of BC expressions in Japanese are *soone*, 'yes, you are right', *un*, *ee*, 'yes' and *hontooni?* 'really?', and in Korean, *kulssey* 'well', *kulay?* 'is that so?', *um* and *ung* 'yes'. Examples of interactional particles in Japanese are *ne* and *na*.

##### 4.1.1 Three Categories of PFs

Below are the resulting Japanese PFs found in the data. I divided them into three categories according to their linguistic forms:

1. PFs which have no substantial meaning: vowel fillers such as *a/aa*, *e/ee*, and *eeto*, and noise sounds such as *un* and *unto*.
2. Demonstrative PFs: *kono* 'this', *sono* 'that' and *ano* 'that over there'.
3. Connectives and adverbial PFs: *dakara* 'therefore, so', *de* 'so, and', *hontoo/hontooni* 'really, very', *nanka* 'something, somehow', *yappari/yappa* 'as expected, as we understand', *ma/maa* 'such as it is, somehow', *koo* 'like this, in this way' and *chotto* 'somewhat, a little bit'.

Below are the resulting Korean PFs found in the data:

1. Fillers which have no substantial meaning: vowel fillers *a* and *e* and noise sounds *um* and *ung*.
2. Demonstrative PFs: *i* 'this', *ku* 'that' and *ce* 'that over there'.
3. Connectives and adverbial PFs: *kulenikka/kunikka/kukka* 'so, therefore', *mwe* 'what', *icey/incey* 'now', *mak* 'very, severely', *kunyang* 'as it is' and *ilehkey/ikhey* 'like this', *kuke/kukey* 'that, it' and *ceki* 'there'.

##### 4.1.2 Quantitative Analysis

Various types of PF are used in the Japanese and Korean conversation. Almost 14 types of PF were found. To investigate the frequency of PFs, I counted the total occurrence of 14 types of Japanese and Korean PFs. The following graph shows the total frequency of PFs in each language according to gender.

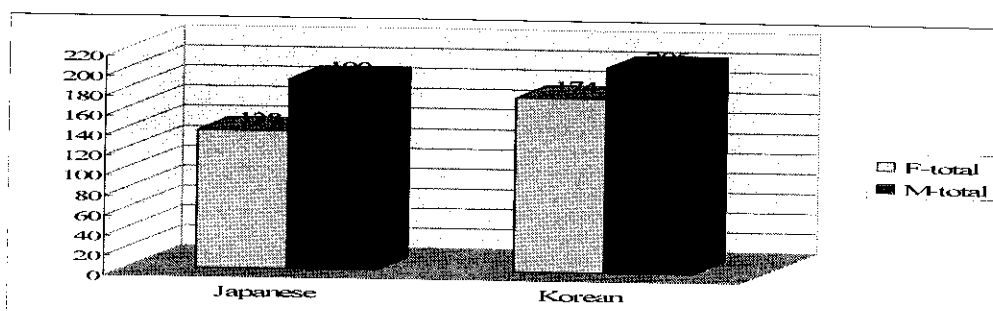


Figure 1: Total Frequency of 14 Types of PF

From this graph, we can observe a few interesting points in the use of PFs in Japanese and in Korean. First, the total frequency of Korean PFs is higher than that of Japanese. In Korean, the total number of PFs is 379, averaging approximately 95 per conversational pair. That is, PFs are used 5 times per minute or as fillers every 12 seconds. In Japanese, the total number of PFs is 328, and Japanese fillers are used 4 times per minute or as fillers every 15 seconds. There is a 3-second difference between Japanese and Korean, and young Korean speakers use PFs more frequently in natural conversation.

Second, as for the gender differences, male speakers use PFs more frequently than female speakers do. Overall, Korean speakers use more PFs than Japanese speakers do. The graph in Figure 1 does not show any significant difference between male speakers of the two languages. Korean male speakers use fillers every 12 seconds while Japanese male speakers use fillers every 13 seconds. However, it appears that there is a 3-second difference between female speakers showing that Korean female speakers use fillers every 14 seconds while young Japanese female speakers use fillers every 17 seconds.

#### 4.2 Types of BC

The next chart is the percentage of the most frequently used BC in Japanese and Korean.

Table 1: Frequent use of fillers of Japanese and Korean

	Japanese	%
<i>un/unun</i>	448	51.61
<i>soo</i> type	106	12.21
<i>a/aa</i>	82	9.45
<i>hontoo</i>	32	3.69
other	200	23.04
Total	868	100.00

	Korean	%
<i>ung/um</i>	216	36.06
<i>e/ee</i>	147	24.54
<i>a/aa</i>	68	11.35
<i>Kulay</i> type	48	8.01
other	120	20.03
Total	599	100.00

The most frequently used types among all BC expressions in Japanese were brief utterances such as *un* 'uh, huh, yes', *soo* type 'I see, that's right', *a/aa* 'oh, ah, yes' and *hontoo* 'really'. They occupied 76.96 percent of all backchannels. The *Soo* type includes many forms such as *soo ne*, *soo yone*, *soo nan desu ka*, *soo soo* and so on. In Korean, the most frequently used BC expressions show similarity to that of Japanese, such as *ung/um* 'uh, huh, yes', *e/ee*, *a/aa* 'oh, ah, yes', and *kulay* type 'I see, that's right', which reaches 79.97 percent of all BCs. The *Kulay* type includes *kulay kulay*, *kulehkwuna*, and *kulehchi*. Other BCs observed in Japanese were *da yo nee* 'it is true', *iyada na* 'that's bad, oh, no!', *yappari* 'as expected', *naruhodo* 'as expected, sure enough' and so on. Korean BCs included those such as *cengmal?/cincca?* 'really?, are you kidding?', *ani* 'why!, what!, good heavens!', *macta* 'that's right, you're right', *cohkeyssta* 'how nice! that sounds good', and so on. And, even though I did not consider laughing and head movements as BCs, they seem quite meaningful in conversational interaction. They play an important role in expressing the hearer's feelings and opinions, such as joy, surprise, and agreement or disagreement.

#### 4.2.1 Frequency of BC

The next chart shows the frequency of BC of Japanese and Korean according to gender.

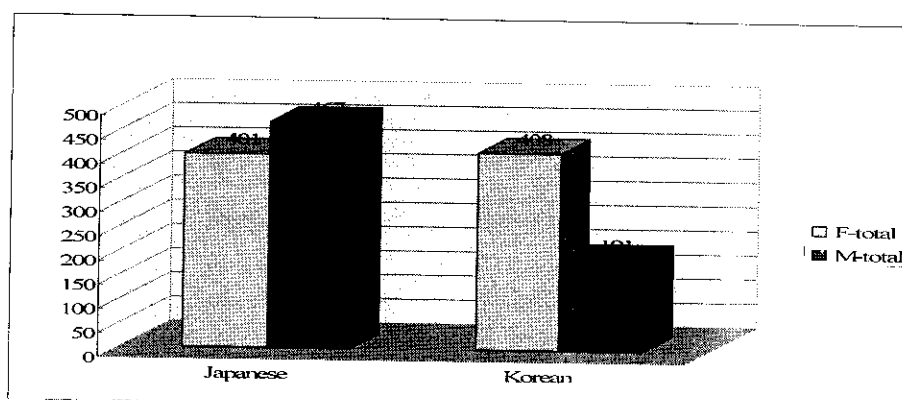


Figure 2: Total Frequency of BC

As we can see in the figure, the total frequency of BCs for 20 minutes in Japanese is 868 and 599 in Korean. That is, Japanese hearers used BCs 1.4 times more frequently than Korean hearers did. The difference according to gender is that Japanese male hearers used BCs 1.2 times more frequently than the female hearers did while Korean female hearers used BCs two times more frequently than male hearers did. According to the study of Im and Ide (2004), female hearers use BCs more frequently than male hearers in both Japanese and Korean, and Japanese female hearers use BCs more frequently than Korean female hearers do. However, the results in my data are somewhat different in that Japanese female hearers used BCs less frequently than Japanese male hearers did.

## 5.0. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The results show that Japanese speakers use BCs more frequently than PFs, while the reverse is true for Korean speakers. This indicates that the role of the listener is very important in Japanese while the role of the speaker is more highly emphasized in Korean. The characteristics of BC in Japanese and Korean are different in that Japanese people frequently back-channel even when they do not agree with the speaker's opinions. The hearer continues to show that her/his own thoughts are the same as the speaker's to facilitate a smooth and comfortable conversation. On the other hand, Korean BC is used to show the hearer's interest or comprehension of the speaker. In many cases, Korean BC signifies a simple notification that the hearer is listening to the speaker, or that the hearer has a good understanding of the conversational topics. Korean BC is greatly affected by the hearer's interest in the conversation. The more interesting the speaker's conversation, the more BCs are offered by the hearer. Unlike Japanese, when the hearer does not agree with the speaker, s/he tends to be silent. Therefore, the Korean speaker makes a great effort to provide an interesting and easily understandable conversation in order to elicit the hearer's interest and create an interactive conversation.

This seems to be the reason why Korean speakers use PFs more frequently than Japanese speakers do. The characteristics of PFs in Japanese and Korean are also different. Japanese PFs are related to hesitation, which is also related to a modest attitude, but Korean PFs are used to make utterances more clear and accurate, which more closely mirror Western values. The most frequently used fillers in Japanese were *nanka*, *ano*, *yappa*, and *ma*. They are characterized as hesitation fillers. They make an utterance unassertive or indirect. The use of Japanese PFs is often associated with the speaker's modest attitude, indicating consideration for others. Therefore, the use of Japanese PFs reflects a perceived positive social value and an important cultural trait for maintaining harmony with the hearer. However, young Japanese speakers seemingly are not aware of their functions in actual use because the use of PFs is so conventionalized. However, they frequently utilize PFs to make it easier to vocalize their thoughts.

In Korean, the most frequently used filler was *kukka*, or 'I mean'. The use of *kukka* indicates that speakers prefer more accurate and direct utterances by providing more elaborate information through this utterance. Korean speakers often show their consideration for the hearer by providing a comfortable atmosphere in which the hearer can easily gain access to the utterance. Therefore, *kukka* plays a very important role for the speaker to manage the conversation more actively. Unlike the Japanese case, if the use of Korean PF is perceived as the speaker's uncertainty or hesitation toward an utterance, for example, by using too frequent hesitation fillers, unstable intonation, and prolongation of a word, it can give the speaker a negative evaluation such as, "unskilled speech", "lack of confidence", or "lack of preparation". It indicates that direct and accurate speech without markers of hesitation has a positive social value in Korean. That is, the use of PFs does not seem to be associated with harmony as it is in Japanese.

Judging by the above findings on PFs and BCs, the Japanese language carries more conventionally acknowledged Asian cultural values than compared to the Korean language. The most used Japanese PFs carry the social value of harmony. Harmony is a key Japanese value, which predominates Japanese life styles. This proclivity towards harmony is based on traditional patterns of behavior aimed at not creating trouble for others. The preservation of harmony in conversation suggests that Japanese people seek a mutual understanding with each other rather than attempting to promote their own views, thereby avoiding clear verbal interaction. It is important for Japanese to see how others react to their views. Therefore, rather than making an utterance clear or accurate, they tend to make utterances indirectly and vaguely to find a shared view with others. This kind of speech style avoids open confrontation and helps the speaker build a good relationship with the hearer.

On the other hand, Korean PF and BC show that Korean discourse reflects more conventionally perceived Western values rather than Asian values because young Korean speakers prefer more clear and accurate statements that avoid hesitation and uncertainty. In addition, the frequent use of Korean PFs indicates that the strategy for projecting politeness is also similar to those in Western cultures because through the frequent use of Korean PFs, the speaker makes a dry and stiff conversation more smooth and interactive, maintaining good rapport with the hearer. Even with conflicting views, rather than dismissing her/his own views, the Korean speaker positively argues or maintains silence so as not to hurt the hearer's feelings. Indirectness, obscurity and vagueness of utterance, which are Asian values, cannot fulfill a Korean speaker's goals in conversation.

So far, I have explored the characteristics of Japanese and Korean PF and BC. My study proves that for Japanese and Korean speakers, PFs and BCs have different social values and reflect the cultural traits of the two societies. I believe that the implications of my study provide a useful contribution to the understanding of cultural differences between Japan and Korea. To understand different cultural expectations of conversational devices is important for both learners of intercultural communication and foreign language teachers because inappropriate use of pause fillers can be perceived as impoliteness or rudeness according to the rules of pragmatics within the culture of the addressee.

In conclusion, I will bring attention to what Tannen (1998) notes about Asian cultures; she suggests that Asian cultures are oriented towards harmony and American cultures are oriented towards argument. However, my analysis of pause fillers suggests that Korean cultures share some similarities with American cultures rather than with Japanese cultures. Therefore, I hope that this study will be a springboard for future studies of Asian languages and cultures.

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# THE SOCIAL MEANINGS OF KOREAN SPEECH STYLES: STYLE SHIFT IN THE KOREAN GRADUATE-LEVEL CLASSROOM

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## ABSTRACT

This paper examines how participants express their identities through uses of the so-called 'speech level and addressee honorific form' in Korean. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate that Korean 'polite' and 'non-polite' speech styles are not limited to politeness or formality but have multiple social meanings and that these meanings are also flexible and context-dependent. Sociolinguistic research regarding the complex indexicality of linguistic forms requires naturally occurring data that are rich in contextual information and a qualitative and micro-analytic research method. On the basis of data analysis, I propose that style shift in Korean classroom discourse as expressed by the use of informal polite and informal non-polite markers is motivated by different stance display and interactional management. Through shifting their speech style, speakers express their variety of identities during talk-in interaction.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

The focus of the present study is on ways in which the participants use linguistic resources (speech level and addressee honorific) to construct their social identities in classroom interaction. Taking an indexical approach, this paper examines how participants express their identities through uses of the so-called 'speech level and addressee honorific form' in Korean.

In an indexical approach, language is a socially organized phenomenon, and meaning is not a sole property of language but is situated and negotiated in social context (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992; Gumperz & Levinson, 1996; Silverstein, 1976). The indefinite boundary between linguistic form and context indicates that all linguistic forms are potentially indexical. Duranti and Goodwin (1992: 3) define 'context' as 'a frame (Goffman, 1974) that surrounds the event being examined and provides resources for its appropriate interpretation.' In other words, context is composed of the setting, participants, language ideology, and the sequential organization of talk. The complexity of context provides an ongoing interactive process. The interdependency of language and social context is evinced by an indexical perspective of language that sees language as a tool to construct social situations (Ochs, 1988). Thus, we choose particular linguistic forms to accomplish the interactional goal at hand.

The notion of social identity is also relevant to the argument of this study. Social identity is not pre-determined but co-constructed in moment-by-moment social interaction by the use of particular languages or linguistic forms as resources (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998). Language plays an important role in identity construction and some linguistic structures explicitly encode the speaker's identity. However, most linguistic structures do not directly index social identities. Most identities do not have a one-to-one relationship with linguistic forms but are indirectly indexed by social acts and stances directly indexed by linguistic structures. A given linguistic form is mediated by the interlocutor's understanding of conventions and infers a certain social identity (cf. Ochs, 1993).

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate that Korean 'polite' and 'non-polite' speech styles are not limited to politeness or formality but have multiple social meanings and that these meanings are also flexible and context-dependent. I will explicate various aspects of participants' (instructor's and students') style-shifting practice with attention paid to following research questions:

1. How do the instructor and students express their identities during graduate-level classroom conversation through shifting their speech style?
2. How do different speech styles, as marked by sentence-ending suffixes expressing different levels of speech and different stances in Korean, have an influence on the organization of classroom interactions?
3. How do the participants' style shifts take place across communicative contexts (topics)?

## 2.0. PREVIOUS STUDIES OF THE STYLE SHIFT

A great number of previous studies in Korean linguistics and sociolinguistics analyzed the speech level from a structuralist perspective (Ko, 1974; Kwon, 1982; Kim, 1981; Nam, 1982; Seo, 1984; Lee, 1994; Park, 1995; Kim, 1994; Kang, 2005). These studies, which largely proposed a one-to-one mapping between the linguistic form and an aspect of social context, present a somewhat static and deterministic view on the Korean style shifts and honorific usages. What is common among these studies is that the polite speech level form is interpreted as a marker of politeness or formality.

More recently, Kim (1999, 2002), Kim and Suh (2004) and Suh (2003) propose that a range of Korean sentence-ending suffixes constitute a rich resource whose deployment indexes different degrees of formality, politeness and intimacy in classroom discourse and in caregiver-child interaction.

There have been more studies on Japanese style shift. Cook (1996a; 1997; 1998) proposes that use of the *masu* form evokes various social identities and activities in different social contexts. Several different social contexts such as family dinnertime conversation (Cook, 1996a; 1997), elementary school classrooms (Cook, 1996b; 1998), interviews and quarrels (Cook, 1998) and academic consultation sessions in universities (Cook, 2006a).

Moreover, there have been some studies on the acquisition of the *masu* form by JFL learners in the classroom setting and in an interview situation (Cook, 2001, 2002; Ishida, 2001; Marriott, 1993, 1995). These studies replace the received deterministic view and offer an account for the flexibility of social identities of the interactants.

This paper attempts to fill the gap in the understanding of the complex indexicality of the Korean style shift and demonstrates that Korean 'polite' and 'non-polite' speech styles are not limited to politeness or formality but have multiple social meanings.

## 3.0. SPEECH LEVEL IN KOREAN

Korean has a systematic set of six addressee honorific levels represented by sentence enders (Sohn, 1999). Two of them are becoming obsolete. Therefore, most Korean speakers use only the deferential / plain (Formal) levels and polite / non-polite (Informal) levels. In natural conversation, contemporary Korean speakers mostly tend to use informal style. This informal style is subdivided into two styles: polite and non-polite. These two styles are most popular and widely used by both male and female speakers in daily conversations even though deferential level is used mostly by males or in very formal situations.

Briefly, speech styles in Korean can be categorized in terms of politeness and formality, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Speech Styles in Korean (Simplified)

	Formal	Informal
Polite	-(su)pnita (deferential)	-(e)yo (polite)
Non-Polite	-ta (plain)	-a/e (intimate)

Table 1 shows a simplified categorization of suffixes which express different registers and stances in terms of formality and politeness. In the classroom situation, formal polite style or informal polite style are expected. However, in the data of my study, only informal polite and informal non-polite forms are found.

## 4.0. DATA AND METHOD

The data come from 5 hours and 27 minutes of audio-recorded graduate-level classroom interactions. The course is a graduate-level course offered by one of the professors in the Department of East Asian Language and Literature of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. The course is for Korean language instructors and graduate students who do not have former and proper teaching experience in Korean as a foreign or second





9. IS *Mo-ya?* [(0.2) *An-kulay-to tul-ko olla-o-nun kes-to*  
What-Q IE by the way carry-CONN come up-NM thing also  
'What? By the way, it seems burdensome to carry lunch boxes.'
10. ((laughter))
11. *il-i-te-lakwu po-nikka=*  
work - RTR IE watch-CONN  
and come up to the third floor (kitchen).'
12. Hye *=ney ney ney=*  
yes-POL yes-POL yes-POL  
'Yes, yes, yes.'
13. Young *=mace*  
right-IE  
'Right.'
14. IS *ku(.) kyotay-lwu(.) mek-nun salam-tul han salam-ssik*  
that-DM shift- AD eat- RL person-PL one person each  
'Why don't you do it one by one'
15. *tol-a-ka-myense ileh-key ha-ci way↓ilcwuil-ssik [ha-tun-ka↓*  
rotate- CONN like this-AD do-SUG IE why-DM a week each do- SUG IE  
on a day shift, or on a week shift?'
16. Hye *[kuntey↓(.)*  
but  
But
17. *acwumma-ka ceng.hwak-han sikan-ey(.) o-si-nun ken ani-kwu(.)*  
lady- TOP exact- RL time-LOC come-HS RL thing-RL no-CONN  
'The lady doesn't come on fixed time.'
18. *ko kunche-ey ileh-key o-si-nikka (0.3)*  
that around- LOC like this-AD come-HS since-CONN  
'Since she comes around lunch time...'
19. *kyang cwu-si-nun kes- man-hay-twu kamsa- hay*  
just give- HS RL thing only do- CONN gratitude do-IE  
'I appreciate her if only because she gives us food.'
20. ((laughter))
21. IS *kosayng-ha-nun salam-tul-un kulem il-pwul-ssik kkakk-a-se*  
hardship do-RL person- PLTO then one dollar each discount- CONN  
'We should give 1-dollar discounts to people who work for other people.'
22. ((laughter))
23. (0.4)
24. IS *ce-key mo-ka celeh-key cwu.leng cwul.eng tal-lye-ss-nya*  
that thing what-TOP like that- AD in clusters hang- PSV PST Q IE  
'What is that? What is hanging in clusters?' (pointing at a key holder)

25. ((laughter))
26. IS *e. OK. a~onul akka(.) eunho-ssi-nun*  
today ago EunHo- FVOC TOP  
'Well, OK. Today, a while ago, Eun-Ho told me that...'
27. *ic-e-peli-ko an-ka-ss-tako kulayss -ci*  
forget-PSVCONN do not go- PST QT that say PST Q IE  
you forgot to go to the classroom observation, right?'
28. ((laughter))
29. Eun *@ney >wancen-hi< kka-mek-ess-eyo.@*  
yes-POL total- AD forget -PST POL  
'Yes, I totally forgot.'
30. IS *kulem ttan-salam-tul- un ka -ss -ess- eyo? swuep-ey?=*  
then other person-PLTOP go- PST PST POL Q class- LOC  
'Then, did other people go to the class?'
31. everyone *=ney*  
yes-POL  
'Yes.'
32. IS *ceki jiyeng-ssi?=  
ther Jiyong- FVOC  
'to Jiyong's class?'*
33. Hye *=a an- kacye-wa- ss -ta @sse-non- ke@*  
do not bring come PST IE write put-RL thing  
'Oops, I didn't bring what I wrote.'
34. IS *Jiyeng-ssi swuep-ey ka-ss- ten-ke ani-ya?*  
Jiyong- FVOC class- LOC go-PST RTR thing no- IE  
'Didn't you go to Jiyong's class?'
35. *Ettay-ss-e swu.ep ettay-ss- ess- eyo*  
How-PST Q IE class how- PST PST Q POL  
'How was it? How was the class?'
36. (0.1)
37. Hye *caymi-iss-ess-eyo*  
fun exist- PST POL  
'It was fun.'
38. ((laughter))
39. IS *@toykey-mos-kaluchy- e mak ileh-key hal swu eps-unikka@*  
very cannot teach- IE DM this- AD cannot since-CONN  
'You cannot say "She teaches very bad", right?'
40. ((laughter))

Young quotes a conversation she had with a Chinese professor at line 2-4. ("I said 'you have to sign-up for the lunchbox.' and she asked 'Is it delicious?' I answered 'It is delicious.' then she said 'I might sign-up as

well.' ") In this direct quotation, the verb in the quoted speech is in the non-polite style. These direct quotations involving the non-polite style index the voice of an outsider (that is, a person in the Chinese department as perceived by the speakers, who are in the Korean department).

In line 5, Young shifts the style from non-polite ("She said that.") to polite form ("She is interested in") in accordance with her shift from a storyteller who narrates to an information provider who announces something to the audience.

After a short pause, in line 7, Hye makes a joke "Ah, shall we charge professors more?" with non-polite ending. As a result, she orients herself as a playful person. Here, non-polite style is employed as a tool to index playfulness. When co-occurring with laughter or other linguistic or non-linguistic features, non-polite style can foreground a shift in 'footing' (Goffman, 1981), from a serious character to a playful one.

In line 9, the instructor reacts upon Hye's previous turn in the form of interrogative with non-polite ending. Notice that this utterance is realized on the same style and tone as Hye's preceding one. The playful mood is maintained and this co-occurs with laughter (line 10) as well; the instructor identifies herself as a playful person. Following the laughter, the instructor talks about carrying lunchboxes to the third floor using non-polite form as a presenter in line 11 ("It seems burdensome to carry lunchboxes and come up to the third floor"). Following Hye's agreement, in line 12, with the instructor's previous turn, Young also strongly agrees using the non-polite style in line 13.

In lines 14-15, the instructor suggests an alternative way of carrying lunchboxes to the third floor by using interrogatives with the non-polite style. Her identity in this turn is like one of the lunch-box project participants rather than an instructor for the class. In response to the instructor's remark, in line 19, Hye's playful utterance in the non-polite style is accompanied with by laughter in exactly same way as previous examples. The instructor's next utterance, in line 21, is also expressed in a playful way ("We should give 1-dollar discounts to people who work for other people"). This playful atmosphere is retained as far as line 24, when the instructor points at a key holder on the table and says, "What is that? What is hanging in clusters there?" using non-polite style. This utterance can be regarded as a self-directed talk which indexes monologic presentation.

Along with the laughter, the instructor intends to change the topic marked by discourse marker "OK." at line 26. Here, she shifts her identity from that of a peer joining in the lunchbox program to an instructor of the class. She invokes the new topic for classroom observation she assigned to the students a week ago. Subsequently, the instructor points out a student and scolds that student for forgetting to go to the classroom observation. Notice that she uses a formal vocative '*ssi*' here along with laughter.

Interestingly, in rebuking the student, the instructor uses the informal non-polite style in line 27 with Korean committal ending *-ci*. Note in line 30 that she shifts back to the informal polite form *-eyo* as she resumes the main topic for the class. This use of the informal non-polite style with the committal *-ci* can be interpreted as one of strategies for achieving politeness contrary to its official designation as 'non-polite' style.

I infer from my data that one of the interactional features associated with the non-polite form is that its use tends to mitigate the level of assertion by way of 'personalizing' the act, especially when the instructor performs a face-threatening act such as rebuking. By shifting to the non-polite form, the teacher reduces her distance from the students and mitigates the face-threatening act by way of highlighting the positive face (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987). As I mentioned before, in lines 30 and 32, she shifts back to the polite form *-eyo* saying "Then, did other people go to the class?" When returning to her main topic. In this case, she addresses a group of students instead of addressing an individual student. This suggests that the instructor shifts from a less formal style to a relatively more formal style when she deals with events related to classroom management.

In line 33, latched on to the instructor's previous turn, Hye utters "Oops, I didn't bring what I wrote" using the non-polite style associated with laughter. This utterance has the form of a monologue. However, it is assumed that her internal intention is announcing her forgetfulness. She tries to emphasize that she did the assignment but simply forgot to bring it to the class.

Not giving any response to Hye's monologic presentation, in line 34 the instructor finishes the question she began in line 32 by asking "Didn't you go to Jiyoung's class?" with non-polite style. This question is for mere confirmation and has somewhat monologic stance. In the following remark, she inquires about the classroom observation publicly ("How was it? How was the class?").

Subsequent to a small pause which shows some hesitation about who should take the first turn among the students, Hye is the first to respond by saying "It was fun". Which is contrary to instructor's expectation and not desirable as a graduate school student's reply. By saying this, Hye identifies herself as a playful person over again. Aligning with laughter, the instructor responds with the voice of Hye using non-polite style at line 39. ("You cannot say 'She teaches very bad', right?"). This evokes additional laughter and allows participants to maintain a playful mood.

## Extract 2

41. Min                    *kuntay <ku> transition-i*  
by the way that transition-TOP  
'But, I don't know
42.                    *>etteh-key sayngkak-ha-si-nun-ci molu-key-ss-ci-man ↑<*  
how- AD think do-HS RL Q do not know however-CONN  
what you think about this transition,
43.                    *>taltaltalt< oywe- kaciko i-key*  
taltaltal memorize have-CONN this-AD  
but we make them memorize the tar out of everything
44.                    *hakey-kkum hay-ss- canha. Mid-term-eynun,*  
do- PSV do- PST-COMM IE mid-term- LOC  
for the mid-term
45.                    *kulen-tey final-eynun kapcaki↑ skit-ul mantul- lako ha-nikka,*  
however final- LOC suddenly skit-AC make-PSV CONN do -CONN  
but then for the final since we tell them to make skits all of a sudden,
46.                    *transition-i tranning-i an toyn sangthay- <eyse>*  
transition-TOP training-TOP not become-RL condition- LOC  
this kind of transition, this training won't work
47.                    *yay-tul-i [e*  
kid- PL TOP  
'for them in this case.'
48. IS                    *[kapcaki=*  
suddenly  
'All of a sudden.'
49. Min                    *=kapcaki sasip mwuncang-ul kakca mantul-lako [ha-nikka*  
suddenly forty sentence- AC each make- PSV do since-CONN  
'Since we would be telling them to make 40 sentences all of a sudden,
50. Young                    *[um]*  
'um'
51. Min                    *ay-tul-i ceng.mal panic-i toy-nun ke-eyyo.*  
kid- PLTOP really panic- TOP become-RL thing- POL  
they would really start to panic.'

52. (0.1)
53. everyone *um*  
'um...'
54. Min *molu- ci. An-hay-pwa-ss-unikka.*  
do not know-COMM IE not do- PS since-IE  
'Of course they wouldn't know since they haven't done that yet.'
55. *cikkep mantul-e pon ken [eps- unikka*  
directly make- PSV thing-RL do not have since-IE  
'Since they haven't ever tried to make their own skits yet.'
56. Young *[kulu. Kulunka?*  
that that- Q IE  
'Is..is that so?'
57. Min *ung!=*  
yes-IE  
'Yes!'
58. Young *=kule-nikka kuleh-key yensup-i toyl*  
so that- AD practice-TOP become-RL  
'Therefore doing something like that as practice'
59. *swu-twu iss-ki- nun ha-key-ss-ta=*  
can also exist- NM RL do will-IE  
could actually work.'
60. Min *=ku-[chyo.*  
Yes- POL  
'Right'
61. Young *[cwungkan-ey hal ttay, ↑(.) yensup-hay-se*  
middle- LOCdo-RL time practice do- CONN  
'When we have the midterm,
62. *mili tanlak-ul [han ccalp-key mantul-lako han taum-ey*  
beforehand paragraph-AC about short-AD make- PSV do-RL next-AD  
have them make a short dialogue to practice, and then...'
63. Min *[kukel hwakcang sikhi-lakwu*  
that-AC expand- PSV CONN  
'And then, extrapolate on those...'
64. (0.1)
65. Min *Um, cey sayngkak-un kulay-ss-eyo.*  
my thought-TOP that- PST- POL  
'Umm... that is what I thought.'
66. IS *kuntey way wuli-ka one o two hal-ttay*  
by the way why-DM we- TOP 102 do-RL when  
'Well, before during 102
67. *ay-tul-pokwu hangsang dialogue-lul oywu-lako hay- ss- canha.*

kid-PL PSV always dialogue-AC memorize-PSV do- PST COMM IE  
we always told the students to memorize the dialogue, right?

68. Eun *ney.*  
Yes-POL  
'Yes'.

Extract 2 starts with Min's complaints of the gap between the mid-term examination and the final skit. In line 41, Min expresses her view on mid-term examinations in Korean courses. Instead of imposing her opinion strongly, she begins her turn choosing the way of mitigation, saying "I don't know what you think about this transition." in lines 41-42. However, by using the Korean onomatopoeic expression '*taltaltal*' in line 43, she is showing her strong discontent with oral -mid-term examinations. Note her use of the committal non-polite ending '*canha*' in line 44. This is contradictory to the expectation that she will use the polite style in any situation as the youngest participant. However, by using the committal non-polite ending, Min not only confirms the fact that teachers make students memorize everything but also gathers attention from the audience. It seems that her intention is fulfilled successfully considering the instructor's and Young's following agreements at lines 48 and 50. ("All of a sudden.", "Um")

As the discussion progresses, Min becomes more and more enraged. In line 51 her high-toned remark "They would really start to panic" is uttered with the polite ending. Here, this use of the polite form indexes the announcement of a strong statement along with strong emotional involvement. Compare this with line 54, where Min shows her discontent using the non-polite ending. In this case, her utterance is fairly monologic, and this is followed by an assertion occurring with supporting evidence ("Of course they wouldn't know since they haven't done that yet"). In line 55, she aligns the same structure with her previous utterance ("Since they haven't ever tried to make their own skit yet") using the non-polite ending.

Overlapped with Min's turn, Young shows weak agreement using the interrogative which ends with the non-polite style in line 56 ("Is...is that so?"). Interestingly, Min's following response is voiced with the non-polite ending in accordance with Young's previous question. Corresponding to examples in Extract 1, this employment of the non-polite form indexes the strength of a speaker's statement. It seems that Min convinced Young successfully, considering Young's subsequent turns in 58-59 ("Therefore doing something like that as practice could actually work."). In response to Young, Min says "Right" with the polite ending at this point. Regarding her use of polite style here, it is assumed that Min shifts her style since she is confident with receiving Young's agreement on her opinion.

In lines 61-63 Young and Min constitute collaborative completion, saying, "When we have the mid-term, have them make a short dialogue to practice, and then..." (by Young) "And then, extrapolate on those..." (by Min). This shows not only the co-constructed characteristic of the conversation but also their agreement on the current issue. After a short pause, Min closes the topic using the polite ending with a somewhat passive attitude compared with her preceding turns, in which she expresses a strong opinion. I suggest that polite style is used as a politeness marker in this case.

The new topic is brought up by the instructor in lines 66-67. She mentions the testing precedent set by Korean 102 courses, which Eun has experience teaching. Notice that she uses the committal non-polite ending with a high tone in line 67 to confirm the fact and to draw an agreement. At the same time, her question is focused on one of the participants who share the fact that they have both taught Korean 102 course. It reveals another interactional feature related to the non-polite style by way of 'personalizing' the act.

## 6.0. CONCLUSIONS

This study has broadly examined Korean style shifts focusing on social contexts. On the basis of the preceding data analysis, more specifically, I propose that style shift in Korean classroom discourse as expressed by the use of informal polite and informal non-polite markers is motivated by different stance display and interactional management.

52. (0.1)
53. everyone *um*  
'um...'
54. Min *molu- ci. An-hay-pwa-ss-unikka.*  
do not know-COMM IE not do- PS since-IE  
'Of course they wouldn't know since they haven't done that yet.'
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by the way why-DM we- TOP 102 do-RL when  
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 we always told the students to memorize the dialogue, right?"

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## 6.0. CONCLUSIONS

This study has broadly examined Korean style shifts focusing on social contexts. On the basis of the preceding data analysis, more specifically, I propose that style shift in Korean classroom discourse as expressed by the use of informal polite and informal non-polite markers is motivated by different stance display and interactional management.



Challenging the view that Korean speech styles have one-to-one relations with social meaning, the present study adopts an indexical approach and argues that Korean speech styles have multiple social meanings. In other words, Korean style shifts evoke various social identities, politeness, and formality in different social contexts. As an index, the social meanings of Korean speech styles depend in part on the social contexts in which they occur.

In Extracts 1 and 2, I have found that Korean informal non-polite and polite styles are intended to represent diverse indexical meanings. In Extract 1, the informal non-polite style marks the voices of outsider, self-narration, knowledge presentation, suggestion, playfulness by jokes, politeness (personalization), monologic stance, and strong agreement. On the other hand, polite style indexes the providing of information, classroom management (authority), and topic change. In Extract 2, I also have examined various indexical features in Korean speech style. In the case of informal non-polite style, it expresses confirmation, gathering attention, monologic presentation, and weak/strong agreement. Polite style, on the other hand, indexes mitigation, strong agreement, emotional involvement, confidence, and passive attitude.

In this study, I have argued that Korean style shift in conversation or interaction is not limited to politeness or formality; instead, the use of Korean speech levels evokes various social identities and activities in different social contexts in classroom discourse. From the data analysis, I have shown that linguistic structure and social practice mutually affect each other. Speakers' identities affect how they use linguistic forms, and at the same time, their identities are created by the use of these linguistic forms. I also propose that co-occurring linguistic and non-linguistic features narrow down the range of their possible social meanings to a more specific one.

Korean speech styles are not limited to politeness or formality but have multiple social meanings, and these meanings are fluid and context-dependent. Through shifting their speech style, speakers express a variety of identities during talk-in interaction.

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## APPENDIX

### Transcription conventions:

[	overlapped speech
=	latching
(0.5)	the number indicates the length of a pause in seconds.
(.)	unmeasured micropause
(( ))	commentary
<u>little</u>	emphasis
::	sound stretch
?	rising intonation
,	continuing intonation
.	falling intonation (full stop)
↑	rising pitch in a word
↓□	falling pitch in a word
>talk<	faster pace
<talk>	slowed pace
@word@	word said with laughter

### Abbreviations used in word-for word translations:

AC	accusative particle
AD	adverbial suffix; adverbializer
CAS	causative suffix
COMM	committal
CONN	connective
DM	discourse marker
HS	honorific suffix

IE	informal ending particle
INQ	inquiry
LOC	locative
NM	nominative case particle
NOM	nominalizer suffix
PL	plural suffix or particle
PLN	plain speech level or suffix
POL	polite speech level, suffix, or particle
PR	propositive sentence-type suffix
PRS	prospective modal suffix
PST	past tense
PSV	passive suffix
Q	question marker, i.e., interrogative sentence-type suffi
QT	quotative particle
REX	reflective
RTR	retrospective
RL	relativizer suffix
SUG	suggestive
TOP	topic
(F)VOC formal	vocative

# ACQUISITION OF MODAL VERBS IN KOREAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND ITS PEDAGOGICAL APPLICATION: FOCUSING ON -KEYSS AND -(U)L KES I

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## ABSTRACT

This paper examines how well foreign language learners of Korean acquire Korean modal verbs, *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-*, and differentiate them. KFL learners have difficulty in properly using them because they are similar in terms of function. Meanwhile, the two modal verbs differ in terms of the "intersubjective" (Traugott, 2002) situation in which speakers and listeners are closely connected in discourse. I conducted two types of tasks to KFL learners in order to get production data as well as comprehension data. Based on the results from the experimental study, pedagogical implications will be considered for teaching Korean as a foreign language.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

There are two modal verbs in Korean: *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-*. Foreign language learners of Korean (hereafter KFL) have difficulty with properly using the two modal verbs because the two verbs are similar in terms of function. They both have two functions: one is "conjecture" and the other is "volition". The two modal verbs differ in terms of the relationships between the speaker and the listener as to the sharing of information/knowledge (Chang, 2000). Both functions of the two modal verbs are separately introduced in the beginning level of the KLEAR textbook, which is currently used at many universities in the United States. However, there is no explanation of the differences between *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-* in any level of the book. Actually, no consistent terms have been used to distinguish between the two modal verbs in Korean linguistics. Additionally, in the education of KFL, no clear viewpoints on the two modal verbs have been established (Shin, 2005). Therefore, KFL learners consider the two modal verbs as a difficult grammatical category.

The goal of this paper is to examine how well KFL learners acquire Korean modal verbs, *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-*, and differentiate them. Based on the results, I will suggest effective ways of teaching the Korean modal verbs to KFL learners.

## 2.0. LINGUISTIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO MODAL VERBS

Many linguists have been investigating the differences between the two modal verbs, *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-*, which are the most representative of modal expressions in Korean (Lee, 1978; Suh, 1978; Sung, 1984; and Lee, 1981). Suh (1978) claimed that *-(u)l kes i-* should be considered as modal, which includes the meaning of "conjecture," and "volition." This is a different view from Hong (1947) and S. Martin (1974) who stated that *-(u)l kes i-* is a future tense due to the *-(u)l*, an unrealized relative suffix. In order to examine the function of its modal verb, Suh (1978) compared *-(u)l kes i-* to *-keyss-*, another modal suffix in Korean. According to him, *-(u)l kes i-* is used to express the modal expressions on the basis of the objective standard, whereas *-keyss-* is on the basis of the speaker's subjective standard.

So far, the previous studies on the meaning of modal verbs have done only fragmentary discussion based on the researchers' own criteria: subjective or objective. A new concept was introduced by Chang (2000), the concept of schema from cognitive psychology, in order to discuss the meaning of the modal expressions based on the relationships between speakers and listeners. He claimed that the existence or absence of a common ground between the speaker and the listener could affect their utterances. He examined the differences between the modal expressions in terms of whether the speaker and the listener share information/knowledge. By sharing information/knowledge, he meant the speaker's assumption of how much information the listener has about a topic. According to Chang (2000), *-keyss-* is used when the speaker assumes the listener has knowledge on the topic, whereas *-(u)l kes i-* is used when the speaker thinks that the listener does not. His study is highly significant in that the relationships between speakers and listeners from this pragmatic view have been taken into account to examine the meaning of the modal expressions. Park (1987), Cheon (1995), and Lee & Noh (2003) discussed this pragmatic function of modal expressions.

In my paper, I will use the term “intersubjectivity” as proposed by Traugott (2002) to distinguish between *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-*. Traugott (2002) claimed, “Speakers constitute themselves as ‘subject’ in saying ‘I’ and in contrasting themselves with ‘you.’ In communication, each participant is a speaking subject who is aware of the other participant as speaking subject.” In other words, the speaker and the listener are closely connected with each other in that the speaker perceives the listener to be a speaking subject in discourse. The difference between *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-* is realized in terms of “intersubjectivity.” Thus, I will use “intersubjectivity” as a standard to distinguish between these two modal verbs in my study.

### 3.0. PREVIOUS STUDY

As mentioned in section 2.1, there have been a number of studies on the linguistic differences between *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-*; however, not many studies on the acquisition of the two modal verbs have been conducted on KFL learners. In 2005, Shin investigated the inter-language variations of KFL learners’ use of *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-*. The participants for the test were English-, Chinese-, and Japanese-speaking learners of Korean and were given three tasks: a grammatical judgment test, an oral interview, and a translation. The translation task was given later because the oral interview turned out to be problematic in that the participant could answer using other similar expressions denoting “conjecture” and “volition.” Considering the fact that the participants were at an intermediate level, there was the high possibility that other expressions could be used to express “conjecture” and “volition.” Shin (2005) compared *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-* and the function of “conjecture” with that of “volition” and analyzed the learners’ errors in their written and oral tasks. As a result, *-(u)l kes i-* showed a higher percentage of the correct usage than *-keyss-* in the function of “volition,” while in the function of “conjecture,” there was no meaningful difference between *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-*.

### 4.0. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based upon Shin’s (2005) investigation and modifications to her tasks, the following research questions will be addressed in my study to investigate KFL learners’ acquisition of *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-*.

1. How well do KFL learners distinguish the two functions of *-keyss-*: “conjecture” and “volition”?
2. How well do KFL learners distinguish the two functions of *-(u)l kes i-*: “conjecture” and “volition”?
3. Are KFL learners able to distinguish the difference between the use of *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-* in the function of “conjecture”?
4. Are KFL learners able to distinguish the difference between the use of *-keyss-* and *-(u)l kes i-* in the function of “volition”?

### 5.0. EXPERIMENTAL STUDY

#### 5.1. Participants

The participants for my study are 14 KFL learners currently taking an intermediate Korean class at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, and all are English-speaking learners of Korean. Another group of participants are three native speakers of Korean studying at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. I will use the data from the native speakers of Korean as my baseline.

#### 5.2. Test Procedures

The participants were given two types of tasks: a written interview and a multiple choice test. First, a written interview was given as a production test, and a multiple choice test as a comprehension test. Unlike Shin’s (2005) study, I chose a written interview instead of an oral interview because the oral interview was problematic in her study. In this regard, I combined the translation task with the oral interview task in the written interview. In Shin’s (2005) study, it became clear that the participants could use other sentence endings to express the meaning of “conjecture” and “volition.” In my study, I gave specific situations and questions in English, which gave hints of modal meaning by using the English modal verbs, “would” and “will” so that the participants could not choose any other sentence enders. I gave the students adequate time (20 minutes) to think about the situation and write their answers. By doing so, I attempted to minimize the problems that arose during the oral interview task performed by Shin (2005).

My second task was a multiple-choice test with 20 questions including 4 distracters. Each question had four choices: one was the correct answer, another was the counterpart for each modal verb, and the other two were randomly chosen sentence enders. There was no time limit for the multiple-choice test.

### 5.3. Test Conditions

In the experimental tasks, there were four general conditions used to examine the acquisition of *-keyss* and *-(u)l kes i-*. Each task had four domains in terms of "function" and "intersubjectivity." Table 1 shows the experimental conditions of the two tasks. The questions were not randomly given, and yet, the order did not affect the comprehension scores.

Table 1: Experimental Conditions

Domain	Number of questions for Task 1	Number of questions for Task 2	Modal verb	Intersubjectivity	Function
#1	1	1 ~ 4	<i>-keyss</i>	Intersubjectivity	Conjecture
#2	2	6 ~ 9	<i>-(u)l kes i-</i>	Non-Intersubjectivity	
#3	3	11 ~ 14	<i>-keyss</i>	Intersubjectivity	Volition
#4	4	16 ~ 19	<i>-(u)l kes i-</i>	Non-Intersubjectivity	

## 6.0. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Two types of analysis were conducted: an accuracy analysis and an error analysis. The group of native speakers of Korean had the highest comprehension scores (100%) on the multiple-choice test. The results of the written interview also showed that the native speakers of Korean had the highest scores (but less than 100%). The question in Domain #3 of the written interview was answered with different sentence enders, including the target answers, whereas the questions in the other three domains were answered consistently. I came to the conclusion that the baseline data from the native speakers of Korean were all reliable, even though some of the other answers were shown in Domain #3. In my judgment, the written interview was an essay-type so that all the sentences did not have to include the target answers.

### 6.1. Analysis on the Comprehension Test

The comprehension scores for the 14 participants on the multiple-choice test are shown in Table 2. In the function of "conjecture," the comprehension scores of *-keyss* and *-(u)l kes i-* are the same (55.4%). On the other hand, there is a large discrepancy between those two modal verbs in the function of "volition"; 19.1% for *-keyss* and 57.1% for *-(u)l kes i-*. As you can see from Table 2, the notable fact is that *-keyss* shows a much lower comprehension score in the function of "volition," whereas *-(u)l kes i-* shows almost the same comprehension scores regardless of function. These results mirror the tendency found in Shin's (2005) study mentioned earlier; however, in my study, a much lower score emerged for *-keyss* in the function of "volition."

Table 2: Comprehension Scores for 14 Participants on a Multiple Choice Test

Domain	Number of questions	Modal verb	Comprehension scores	Intersubjectivity	Function
#1	4	<i>-keys</i>	55.4% (31/56)	Intersubjectivity	Conjecture
#2	4	<i>-(u)l kes i-</i>	55.4% (31/56)	Non-Intersubjectivity	
#3	4	<i>-keys</i>	19.1% (11/56)	Intersubjectivity	Volition
#4	4	<i>-(u)l kes i-</i>	57.1% (32/56)	Non-Intersubjectivity	

### 6.1.2. Analysis on Individual Data

Despite the higher score on *-(u)l kes i-* in the overall scores, it might be hasty to conclude that KFL learners have more difficulty in acquiring *-keyss* than *-(u)l kes i-*, unless individual variations are taken into consideration. Table 3 shows the individual comprehension scores in the four domains.

Table 3: Individual Comprehension Scores in Four Domains (N=14)

ID	<i>-kess</i>		<i>-(u)l kes i-</i>	
	Conjecture	Volition	Conjecture	Volition
#1	2	0	1	1
#2	3	0	2	3
#3	3	1	0	0
#4	3	0	3	4
#5	4	3	2	0
#6	1	0	1	4
#7	4	0	3	1
#8	3	0	4	3
#9	1	0	1	3
#10	2	0	4	3
#11	1	1	2	3
#12	3	2	3	3
#13	0	1	2	1
#14	1	0	4	2
Perfect score	4	4	4	4

I further analyzed the individual data in terms of modal verb as in Table 4 and in terms of function as in Table 5. As you can see from Table 4, there are more individuals who received higher scores on *-(u)l kes i-* (11) than *-keyss* (2) in the function of "volition." In Table 5, 12 out of 14 participants are better at correctly using "conjecture" of *-keyss*, while only one participant received higher scores on "volition" of *-keyss*. This individual data confirms that most of the participants have difficulty acquiring the function of volition on *-keyss*. It also verifies that the participants show no particular distinction between usages of *-keyss* and *-(u)l kes i-* in the function of "conjecture" as in Table 4, and between "conjecture" and "volition" of *-(u)l kes i-* as in Table 5.

Table 4: Individual Comprehension Scores in Terms of Modal Verb (N=14)

Conjecture		
<i>-keyss</i> > <i>-(u)l kes i-</i>	<i>-keyss</i> < <i>-(u)l kes i-</i>	<i>-keyss</i> = <i>-(u)l kes i-</i>
5	5	4
Volition		
<i>-keyss</i> > <i>-(u)l kes i-</i>	<i>-keyss</i> < <i>-(u)l kes i-</i>	<i>-keyss</i> = <i>-(u)l kes i-</i>
2	11	1

Table 5: Individual Comprehension Scores in Terms of Function (N=14)

<i>-keyss</i>		
Conjecture > Volition	Conjecture < Volition	Conjecture = Volition
12	1	1
<i>-(u)l kes i-</i>		
Conjecture > Volition	Conjecture < Volition	Conjecture = Volition
6	5	3

### 6.1.3. Analysis on Errors

Judging from the analysis of the overall scores and the individual data, it is clearly revealed that the participants have difficulty acquiring the function of volition on *-keyss*. If so, what kinds of obstacles prevent the participants from acquiring the function of volition on *-keyss*? In order to determine these obstacles, I analyzed the errors that the participants made on the multiple-choice test. Four choices were given for each question including the choice of the counterpart for each modal verb, which I term "counterpart error" and other two choices I call "other errors."

Table 6: Frequency of Type of Errors

Domain	Number of questions	Modal verb	Counterpart errors	Other errors	Function
#1	4	<i>-keyss</i>	44.0%	56.0%	Conjecture
#2	4	<i>-(u)l kes i-</i>	32.0%	68.0%	
#3	4	<i>-keyss</i>	<b>58.8%</b>	41.2%	Volition
#4	4	<i>-(u)l kes i-</i>	29.2%	70.8%	

As you can see from Table 6, significant results are found in the function of volition on *-keyss* just like the comprehension scores. The higher frequencies of "counterpart errors" are found in the function of volition on *-keyss*, whereas "other errors" are more frequently made in the other three domains. Many of the participants chose *-(u)l kes i-* over the correct answer *-keyss* under Domain #3. In other words, they do not differentiate *-keyss* from *-(u)l kes i-* in the "intersubjective" situation.

Here, I need to examine further what is occurring in Domain #3. On the multiple choice test, the questions for Domain #3 consist of two parts; one is the question with the first person subject in the "intersubjective" situation of implying the speaker's volition, and the other is the questions with the second subject in the situation to induce the speaker's polite attitudes, which *-(u)l kes i-* cannot indicate. In order to analyze further the errors made in Domain #3, I checked to see if there was any distinction between the errors in those two parts of the question items. As you can see from Graph 1, fewer errors were made on the questions with first person subjects rather than second person subjects.



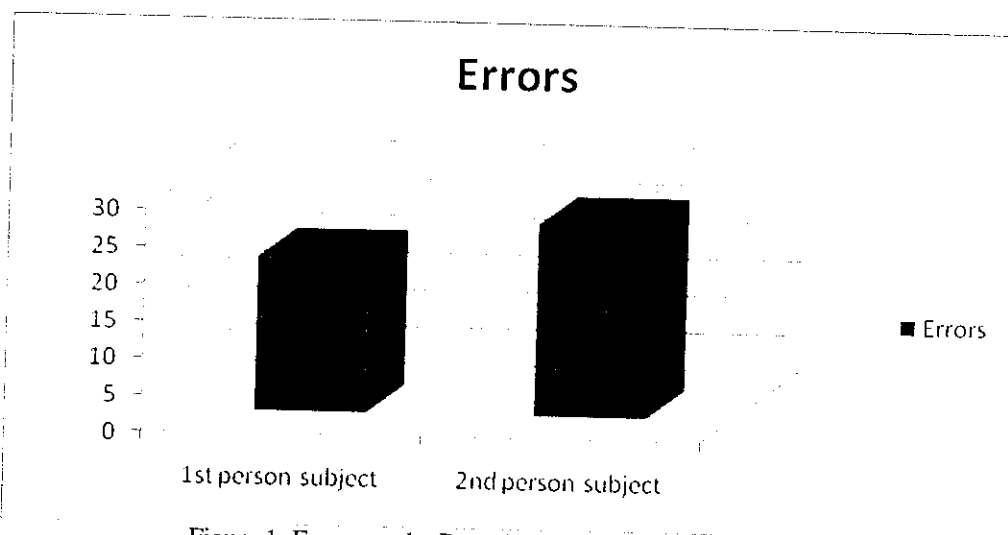


Figure 1: Errors on the Domain #3 in Terms of Grammatical Person

Seemingly, most of the participants did not understand that *-keyss* should be used to induce a polite attitude from the speaker, while they did understand the use of *-keyss* with the first person subject to imply the speaker's volition. The textbook that they use is the cause for the participants' errors. In the KLEAR textbook, the modal verb *-keyss* with the first person subject is only introduced with the deferential form *supnita* as a chunk when it denotes "volition" as in Example 1.

1. a. *nalssi-lul cenhay tuli-keyss-supnita.*  
Weather-ACC inform give(hon.)-MOD-DEF  
"I will inform you of weather forecast."
- b. *Ce-nun nayil ka-keyss-supnita.*  
I-TOP tomorrow go-MOD-DEF  
"I will go tomorrow."

The modal verb *-keyss* with the second person subject is used to imply the speaker's polite attitudes in interrogatives of request as in Example 2.

2. a. *ce-lul towa cwu-si-keyss-eyo?*  
I-ACC help give-SH-MOD-Q  
"Will you help me?"
- b. *kitali-keyss-eyo?*  
wait-MOD-Q  
"Will you wait?"

However, this usage of *-keyss* is not introduced as a grammar lesson, but only given as examples in conversations within the textbook. Thus, the participants did not learn that the modal verb *-keyss* is used when evoking a speaker's polite attitude.

## 6.2. Analysis on Production data

The answers from the written interview showed that the participants can use other sentence enders to express the meanings of "conjecture" and "volition" even after combining an interview task with a translation task. In this regard, I will give details on their responses to the questions in the four domains. In the first domain of "conjecture" *-keyss*, given the situation that the participants are looking at the picture menus at a restaurant, I provided questions like "which dishes would taste delicious on the menus?" in English. None of them used *-keyss*. Instead, other expressions such as, *-(u)l kes katayo* ("to seem"), *-e/a poyeyo* ("to look"), and *mekko sipeyo* ("to want to eat") were used to express the meaning of "conjecture." The expression *-e/a poyeyo* ("to

look”) was often used because it was taught in class prior to the written interview. Thus, there were limitations to the question in Domain #1 of the written interview in producing *-keyss* in the function of “conjecture.”

In the second domain of “conjecture” *-(u)l kes i-*, none of the participants used *-(u)l kes i-* nor *-keyss* even after the English modal verb was given in the question. In other words, the participants were not able to produce any of the modal verbs in the function of “conjecture.” Instead, the simple present verb with a polite ender *-yo* was used. No other particular enders were used to express the meaning of “conjecture” *-(u)l kes i-* in Domain #2. Unlike the results from the comprehension test, the production of *-(u)l kes i-* in the function of “conjecture” turned out to be difficult for KFL learners.

In the third domain of ‘volition’ *-keyss*, significant results were found just like in the comprehension test. Five out of fourteen participants made ‘counterpart errors’, which means they chose *-(u)l kes i-* over the correct answer of *-keyss*. This is consistent with the results from the comprehension test. Thus, the written interview task also verified that the participants have difficulty differentiating *-keyss* from *-(u)l kes i-*.

In the fourth domain of volition *-(u)l kes i-*, three out of fourteen participants used *-(u)l kes i-* and no counterpart errors were made. That is, at least three participants were able to produce *-(u)l kes i-* in the function of “volition,” and this is the only domain in which the participants produced the correct answers. It also supports the results from the comprehension test in that the least “counterpart errors” were made in the fourth domain on the multiple-choice test as shown in Table 5. Moreover, the highest comprehension scores (58.8%) on the multiple choice test is consistent with the results from the production test. In summary, the production data has the same tendency as the comprehension data despite the limitations of my production test. For a follow-up study addressing production data, I would suggest a role-playing task, in which a specific situation can be given and the relationship between the speaker and the listener can be more realistic.

From the production test, I found out that few participants tended to use *-keyss* and there was a higher frequency in the use of *-ul kes i-* even in errors. Considering the frequency of *-ul kes i-* in the intermediate Korean textbook, *-ul kes i-* is used at a much higher frequency than *-keyss* by KFL learners. I believe that the textbook is one of the causes for the infrequent use of *-keyss* by KFL learners.

## 7.0. PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Based on the results from this experimental study, I will discuss pedagogical implications for teaching Korean as a foreign language. As I’ve mentioned so far, the two modal verbs, *-keyss* and *-(u)l kes i-*, share similar functions so KFL learners have difficulty in properly using them. The results of my study clearly indicate that KFL learners cannot distinguish *-keyss* from *-(u)l kes i-* to express the meaning of “volition.” Additionally, they do not know the usage of *-keyss* to express the speaker’s polite attitude when making a request. The problem lays in the textbook that KFL learners use, which does not provide any explanation of this usage of *-keyss* as a grammar lesson. Thus, this usage should be introduced in the textbook so that KFL learners may learn to properly use *-keyss* when making a polite request. This is an important issue since politeness in Korean is crucial to communicate with people; otherwise, they will sound impolite to native speakers of Korean.

Second, when teaching the two modal verbs, it is critical to provide interactive situations such as a role-playing, rather than providing fragmentary sentences because they differ in terms of “intersubjective” situations between the speaker and the listener. In addition, the contrast between the two modal verbs should be taught so that KFL learners may be aware that they are not always used in the same situations.

Third, it is recommended that teachers know the linguistic differences between *-keyss* and *-(u)l kes i-*. KFL learners can learn more effectively to distinguish the two modal verbs when given interactive situations. Thus, teachers should be able to provide the appropriate situations to differentiate them. As aforementioned, the two modal verbs can be differentiated depending on the “intersubjective” situation.

## 8.0. CONCLUSION

The results of my study clearly indicate that KFL learners have difficulty in properly using the Korean modal verbs *-keyss* and *-(u)l kes i-*. It is especially hard for KFL learners to differentiate *keyss* from *-(u)l kes i-* to express the meaning of "volition." The error analysis also supports the results of the comprehension test in that the most "counterpart errors" were found in the use of *-keyss* in the function of "volition." Moreover, the analysis of the individual data confirms that KFL learners have difficulty acquiring the function of volition on *-keyss*. On the other hand, KFL learners show no particular distinction between using *-keyss* and *-(u)l kes i-* in the function of "conjecture" and between conjecture and volition of *-(u)l kes i-*. The results of the production test also show the same tendencies as the comprehension data, although there were limitations with my production test.

Based on the results from this experimental study, pedagogical implications were offered for teaching Korean as a foreign language. The textbook for KFL learners should provide the usage of *-keyss* to express the speaker's polite attitude when making a request as a grammar lesson. This is an important issue since politeness in Korean is crucial in communication. Second, when teaching the two modal verbs, it is critical to provide interactive situations, rather than providing fragmentary sentences, because they differ in terms of the "intersubjective" situations between the speaker and the listener. Finally, KFL teachers should know the linguistic differences between *-keyss* and *-(u)l kes i* from which KFL learners can benefit in many ways.

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# A STORY OF MOTHERLAND: THE CASE OF A KOREAN ADOPTEE

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## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

The present study takes a broad look at the development of an adoptee's personal story, a perception of the subject's motherland, Korean culture and society and a definition of herself and her experiences through interviews. As Byrne (2004) suggests, individuals' values and attitudes, which cannot be measured by quantitative methods such as surveys or structured questionnaires, are most easily studied through qualitative interviews. Every individual views the world through their own lens that is mediated by set norms. In addition, through interview talks, the researcher is able to examine the lens through which the subject operates. Silverman (2006: 137) also supports the idea that identities and cultural stories are revealed through interview talks. During the interview, the participants co-construct a perspective on their personal stories, while also reconstructing their own self-images dynamically throughout the talk. Within conversation, the individuals reconstruct facts and details by adding, deleting, or transforming. Therefore Holstein and Gubrim equally emphasize two aspects: "*what* interviewees are saying and *how* they get to say it" (as cited in Silverman, D., 2006: 129-130).

The purpose of this study is to investigate how an adoptee's perspective towards Korea and its society is shaped and carried out within conversation. I specifically raise two research questions for this study. Based on the first two excerpts, the first question is how the interviewee's shift of her stance is realized through linguistic resources in talk-in-interaction will be given careful attention. The second research question concerns the association between the interviewee's self-description and the code switched word *wangtta*; this will be examined in the last excerpt. The interviewer would raise question about the interviewee's personal experience in Korea or thoughts about Korean society and the interviewee mostly replied with story-telling strategies. According to Benwell & Stokoe (2006), story telling is commonly practiced in social life and they claimed that identities are likely to be constructed in such contexts. Therefore, this study focuses on "*how*" the interviewee responds rather than "*what*" they are relating.

## 2.0. BACKGROUND OF ADOPTIVE IDENTITY

Many studies of adoptees in the field of social science have focused on the experiences of adopted infants, children or adolescents exclusively; the studies focused on adult adoptees are relatively small (Borders, Penny & Portnoy 2000: 407). In addition, empirical research on the question of identity, its developmental processes, the search for biological parents and the contexts beyond the adoptive family has been of great interest for many years. (Grotevant, Dunbar, Kohler & Lash Esau. 2000: 379; Borders, Penny & Portnoy 2000: 407).

The intercultural and interracial history of the adoption of Korean infants dates back to the period of the Korean War in the 1950s. The orphans of the Korean War received humanitarian attention from all over the world, and the majority of Korean adoptees were sent to the United States as well as to nations in Europe. In the 1960s, infants of out-of-wedlock pregnancies replaced the war orphans as the primary adoptees. Moreover, some policy changes, such as legalized abortion and the acceptance of single parenting made international adoption more possible in the United States (Kim 1995, p. 143). In addition, the number of white babies available for adoption was decreasing in the US and the acceptance of African American children into the white family engendered controversial issues (Grotevant, Dunbar, Kohler & Lash Esau. 2000, p. 381). However, the Korean government began to discourage international adoption after the *New York Times* article "Babies for Export" was released in 1988, right before the Seoul Olympic Games (Kim 1995: 144). International adoption started to decrease in 1989 with Korea's growing economic prosperity and the current annual report released by the Korean Government showing that domestic adoption finally exceeded international adoption in 2007 (Namgung 2008).

### 3.0. DATA

The data for this study are derived from two audio-recorded and open-ended structured interviews that lasted for 60 minutes and 23 minutes respectively. The second interview was recorded three days after the first interview and both interviews were conducted in English. The researcher of this study is the interviewer, and is a native Korean. The interviewee is a female Korean adoptee who was adopted into a United States family at the age of 6 months. She is presently 32 years old and a graduate student majoring in political science. She was very engaged in the conversation when discussing Korean social ideologies and recent heart-breaking historical events such as the period of Japanese occupation, the Korean War and its attendant separation of the South and the North. Her academic interests include anti-Americanism in Korea in relation to the US policies towards North Korea, the economic growth of South Korea and the life of comfort women who were forced into sexual slavery for the Japanese military during World War II. Her Korean language proficiency is elementary, but she sometimes code-switches to Korean using Korean lexical items throughout the interview. Such code-switching is *italicized* and transcribed in Yale Romanization (Sohn 1999, p. 2-3). The transcribed data is analyzed qualitatively focusing on the interviewee's changing stances through the various selections of lexical items.

### 4.0. DATA ANALYSIS

In Excerpts 1 and 2, the interviewee claims that wealth and social status is necessary for an individual to be welcomed by Korean society and defines herself as a displaced person from this society. Her use of lexical items will be given attentive examination.

Prior to Excerpt 1, the interview participants are talking about a male student whose mother is a half-Korean and half-black Korean adoptee. Hearing that the student is learning Korean and his recent visit to Korea was related to a search for his biological maternal grandmother, the interviewee is moved by the student's story.

#### Excerpt 1: Social Status

1. IE >I feel like< when someone really (.) prominent (.) reaches  
certain status (.) u::m (.) in the world and has like the part of them
2. that's Korean↑ then Korea embraces it more↑ so who was that football
3. player::
4. IR ah!
5. IE that had a half black=
6. IR =Hines-hines Ward?
7. IE >yes!< That I think that-
8. IR I see, yeah
9. IE and then like my best friend knows Toby Dawson,
10. IE and so I guess he went with the (.) not this present president- the former
11. IE president to South America trying (xx) on the next (.) Olympics or
12. IE something, but it's like when someone-
13. IR I see
14. IE so I think it helps.

Here, two actual American figures - 'Hines Ward' in lines 3-6 ("so who was that football player that had a half-black") - and 'Toby Dawson' in lines 10 are cited as examples of "someone really prominent reaches certain status" as recorded in lines 1-2. Hines Ward is not an adoptee but an American NFL football player who is half-black and half-Korean. Toby Dawson is a Korean adoptee and is an American mogul skier who won a bronze medal in the Olympic Games. The interviewee relies on her 'best friend' mentioned at line 9 throughout the interview. The friend is also a Korean adoptee, but was adopted when she was 12 years old. Therefore, from the interviewee's perspective, the friend is an 'expert' on Korean language as well as Korean culture.

The story of Toby Dawson visiting South America with one of the US Presidents is mentioned in the above examples. Exactly what Toby Dawson did in South America is not the focus of the reference in lines 13-14 ("or something"). However, by aligning Toby Dawson with the former President, Toby Dawson is placed in an even more prominent position. The reference in line 2 ("embraces it more") seems to imply that Korean society embraces an adoptee anyway, even if the adoptee does not become prominent and or reach a certain

status. An objective consideration of Excerpt 1 reveals the interviewee's perceived negative aspects of Korean society, but words such as 'discrimination', 'conservative' or 'closed society' are not used.

**Excerpt 2: Negative Things about Korea**

15. IR and you talked Hines Ward and Toby Dawson as examples of  
 16. when some people reach the prominent (.) status the Korea embrace  
 17. more  
 18. IE uh huh  
 19. IR in that sense do you think Korea society is more conservative? Like  
 20. because-  
 21. IE Um:: I think that from my perspective one of the um:: (.) one of the  
 22. negative things I see with Korean society is that so much (.) um:: (.)  
 23. emphasis placed on status and wealth? so whereas someone before  
 24. would be kind of- like a *wangtta* like just kind of displaced from the  
 25. society, once they achieved a like a level of status and wealth they are  
 26. welcomed into society  
 27. IR I think you are right  
 28. IE yeah  
 29. IR In a sense, I was thinking I was listening to your what you are saying (.)  
 30. I actually didn't know about Toby Dawson that much before you said it,  
 31. and I just searched internet okay this is the person that=  
 32. IE =and you know that girl she was a waitress in LA she's like  
 33. 22 years old she married Nicholas Cage (.) and I was talking with my  
 34. best friend who was adopted when she was 12 years old, but um (.) you  
 35. know we were talking about how gross it is like she married someone  
 36. like 45 year old guy but she's like- but he is like rich you know like  
 37. so- it's not big a deal  
 38. IR (laugh)  
 39. IE you know like if he was like- this is a gross old white guy and people  
 40. would be like oh my go:sh she is- you know this is terrible but because  
 41. she married like an actor who is (.) wealthy like it's like the age  
 42. difference isn't really (.) the focus

Three days later, the interviewer brings up the issue of Toby Dawson again and this time, the interviewee elaborates further. Instead of asking 'What do you think of Korean society?' the keyword 'conservative' is used in line 19. Moreover, the interviewer seems to use the word 'Korea' in a neutral way. If 'my country' had been uttered instead, it would seem to differentiate the interviewee from the 'Korea' group. The presence of two keywords- conservative and Korean- actively provided by the interviewer puts the interviewee in a safe position to discuss negative aspects of the society more objectively and directly.

The interviewee begins by stating 'from my perspective' at line 21. It is apparent that the words are more carefully chosen from the frequent hesitations and fillers found at lines 21 and 22 ("um:: (.)"). In addition, the issue being discussed is acknowledged as a 'negative thing' at line 24 for the first time by the interviewee. The use of the code-switched word *wangtta* at line 24 ("*wangtta* like just kind of displaced from the society") to describe a certain group is significant. The meaning of *wangtta* in this context in relation to the interviewee will be discussed in depth in the next excerpt.

Another interesting point here is that the interviewer directly quotes the interviewee's words from the first open-ended interview at line 16, ("some people reach the prominent status"). However, during the interviewee's elaboration, she adds another factor, 'wealth', and utters it twice in line 23 ("emphasis placed on status and wealth") and at line 25 ("a level of status and wealth"). The word 'wealth' was not mentioned earlier. It is assumed that the implied meaning of the word 'prominence' includes 'wealth' as well.

In line 30, while the interviewer explains her past ignorance of Toby Dawson, she is cut off by the interviewee's elaboration on the topic. This is a notable change from the first excerpt in that the interviewee now actively engages in the conversation by presenting her perspective through the story of Nicholas and Alice

IE makes a firm claim about Nicholas Cage's marriage by saying "it's not big a deal" and "the age difference isn't really the focus" at lines 37 and 42. From line 32 to 42, the interviewee tells the story about the marriage of Hollywood actor 'Nicholas Cage' to a young Korean woman named 'Alice Kim'. The references at line 32 and 33 ("that girl", "a waitress in LA", "22 years old") seem to denigrate the woman. The emphasis is placed on her young age and the IE refers to her as 'a girl'. Moreover, the IE's mention of her past occupation is perhaps intended to show the woman's lack of an educational background or social status. On the contrast, various descriptions of the man are shown at lines 36 ("45 year old guy", "rich"), 39 ("gross old white guy") and 41 ("an actor who is wealthy"). Again, the word 'guy' instead of 'man' seems to devalue Nicholas Cage and it is apparent that his old age and financial status are emphasized. Again, the interviewee's subjective feelings towards the 'guy' who married such a young 'girl' are shown at lines 35, 39 ("gross") and 40 ("terrible"). The fact that what the IE feels are 'gross' and 'terrible' about this situation is taken positively in Korean society is built into 'one of negative things' about Korean society.

Another interesting point is that by aligning with her Korean *expert friend*, the IE is able to express her negative feelings more openly through the voice of 'my best friend', who was adopted at the age of 12. By embedding a short interaction between the IE and her best friend within the story of Nicholas and Alice, the IE can illustrate that the opinion is not merely her own, but is shared and agreed upon. In this way, the IE can reduce the possible risks from possessing the biased view and can strengthen her argument.

**Excerpt 3: The Negative Experience in Korean and the Meaning of 'Wangtta'**

43. IE It was really tough in the beginning. I think when you move somewhere  
 44. IE you have like a honeymoon period at first like first two or three months ↑  
 45. IE and sets in, you are not just visiting, but living there ↑  
 46. IE so...when I first got there, I like jumped into the language like I loved it,  
 47. IE all about just making that happen there, and then I think because I experienced some (0.5)  
 48. IE I had some REALLY negative experiences with Koreans there  
 49. IE and not being able to speak Korean fluently ↑  
 50. IR Oh  
 51. IE It really made me angry (laugh) so then stopped trying speaking as much,  
 52. IE when I got there everyone was like you are gonna learn the language so:: fast,  
 53. IE because you know I didn't have any fear about it,  
 54. IR Right  
 55. IE But then I had some really negative interaction and I was like...  
 56. IE I...in so my way of rebelling which OBVIOUSLY is not a smart way  
 57. IE because it only hurts me was not want to speak as much

The third excerpt is about the IE's personal negative experiences, which occurred during her 2 years of stay in Korea and which shows a relevant relationship between *wangtta* and the IE herself. When she first arrived in Korea, she was very excited to learn the language and culture, expecting to grab all the excitement like magic, as shown at lines 46-47 ("jumping into the language like I loved it, all about just making that happen there"). However, as she encountered negative experiences with native Korean people for not being able to speak Korean fluently, she abruptly changed her way of acting within the society. Let us now look again at parts of the two previous excerpts and examine the close linkage between the interaction the IE described above and the code-switched word.

**(Excerpt 1: Line 1-7)**

1. IE >I feel like< when someone really (.) prominent (.) reaches  
 2. IE certain status (.) u::m (.) in the world and has like the part of them  
 3. IE that's Korean↑ then Korea embraces it more↑ so who was that football  
 4. IE player::  
 5. IR ah!  
 6. IE that had a half black=  
 7. IR =Hines-hines Ward?

## (Excerpt 2: Line 23-28)

23. IE Um:: I think that from my perspective one of the um:: (.) one of the  
 24. negative things I see with Korean society is that so much (.) um:: (.)  
 25. emphasis placed on status and wealth? so whereas someone before  
 26. would be kind of- like a *wangtta* like just kind of displaced from the  
 27. society, once they achieved a like a level of status and wealth they are  
 28. welcomed into society

The word *wangtta* was a socially created lexical item that appeared in 1997, replacing the Japanese word '*ijime*' meaning 'bullying', which was previously used. According to the interviewee, '*wangtta*' gets "displaced from the society" (lines 26-27), and it seems that the word refers to adoptees as well as racially mixed-people (usually half-black), who were somehow abandoned by their biological parents or the society, and had to leave their country when they were unable to make choices on their own.

Based on the two short excerpts extracted from Excerpts 1 and 2, the contextual meaning of *wangtta* is similar to the description of the IE when she was living in Korea. Evidenced from her story, the IE somehow voluntarily chose to be self-displaced from the society, turning her into a *wangtta* by not trying to learn the language.

## 5.0. CONCLUSION

This study involves one native Korean (an interviewer/researcher) and an adoptee from Korea (an interviewee). From the data analysis, I have examined two questions carefully. In Excerpt 2, when the interviewer provides the keyword 'conservative', the interviewee is put in a safe position to talk about the negative aspects of Korean society more freely. Thus in Excerpt 1, the interviewee tried to describe Korean society using rather abstract positive words such as 'someone prominent' and 'certain status' whereas in Excerpt 2, she chooses to use more concrete words such as 'rich' and 'wealthy'. The interviewee presents an example of how Korean society welcomes the couple of Nicholas Cage and Alice Kim because of Cage's wealth. She does not use the rather abstract word 'social prominence' anymore. Instead, emphasis is placed on 'wealth' twice specifically in the second interview. In short, beginning in Excerpt 1, the IE first uses the abstract expression 'someone prominent reaches certain status.', but becomes more concrete in her second elaboration by stating 'status and wealth' and lastly, she uses the very specific and direct words 'wealthy' and 'rich'. In the last excerpt, I have closely examined the tight connection between the IE's personal experience and the code-switched word *wangtta* in light of the contextual meaning of *wangtta*. The IE's past incidents while living in Korea eventually parallel her self-reflected image of *wangtta*.

The present study is worthwhile because relatively less attention has been given to adult adoptees in the social sciences, and specifically in sociology and psychology. Additionally, existing studies on adoptive identities are largely based on quantitative scales. Even when they used qualitative methods, they examined 'descriptively' focusing on "what" subjects said rather than "how" they said it. This study presents the individual's attitudes and values by examining the various linguistic resources she employs.

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# IMITATION AS IT EMERGES IN THE CONTEXT OF ACTIVITIES FOR STUDENTS IN A BEGINNING LEVEL JFL CLASSROOM

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## ABSTRACT

A micro-analytic study of a first semester Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) class reveals how students begin to actively engage in authentic exchanges through a transformational process of imitation (as defined by Vygotsky and A.N. Leont'ev cited by Lantolf and Thorne, 2006). The data reveals how learners take particular voicings (conversational routines) made available in class as resources to organize their participation in class. The socio-historical student and teacher interactions in a first year University level JFL class are investigated through the framework of activity theory (as defined by Leont'ev, cited by Engeström, 1999) in this study.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

In this study, the student and teacher interactions in a first year University level JFL class are investigated through the framework of activity theory (as defined by Leont'ev, cited by Engeström, 1999) which is grounded in sociocultural theory (SCT). According to SCT (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006; Engeström, 1999; Nasir, 2006), engagement with others influences the development of one's foreign language learning. In this paper, I will explore how a particular aspect of such social interaction – imitation – (as defined by Vygotsky and A.N. Leont'ev cited by Lantolf and Thorne, 2006) may be seen as contributing to the learner's development in L2 language learning.

I will focus specifically on imitation as it arises in conjunction with interactional activities within the Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) classroom. The collected data will demonstrate how the L2 learners engage in social interaction where imitation is part of how they participate in the classroom activity. Learners develop the ability to invent and use tools made available within the classroom setting (i.e. social interactional models). Learners also take an active role in changing the mediation function of social interactional models provided in class, and thereby change their participation patterns in their particular activity system. The paper seeks to examine the following: 1. How does imitation play a role in how learners participate in class activities? 2. How do the forms of the target language used by the teacher, and subsequently imitated by the students, become mediating tools for subsequent student-initiated participation in class? 3. What conditions prompt the use of imitation within class activities? The data will reveal that the individual student develops the ability to invent and use tools made available within the classroom setting, as s/he employs rudimentary forms of thinking that are crucial to the development of learning a second language.

## 2.0. IMITATION

In this study, imitation is a performance by the learner, which is differentiated from rote mimicry, emulation, or "a simple parroting of a model" (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006). In this study, imitation is a taking up of the teacher's voice, of a teacher's practice that is part of the regular instantiation of the teacher's role in the classroom. The process of this imitation is transformational since taking up of another's voice (or conversational routine) effects using it as a resource for some communicative action at a particular moment.

According to Lantolf and Thorne (2006), Vygotsky distinguishes imitation from emulation; imitation is an activity, and is "the process through which socio-culturally constructed forms of mediation are internalized" (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006, p. 166). Vygotsky saw "imitation as a complex and potentially transformative activity, and not as a simple parroting of a model" that entails selective attention (ibid: p. 167). In this research, I will use activity as a unit of analysis for understanding the historical, mediated and emergent changes in learner participation in a given activity and subsequent influence on the activity system in second language learners over a short period of time.

### 3.0. ACTIVITY THEORY

In the study of child L1 language learning, Vygotsky, the Soviet psychologist who pioneered the concepts of SCT, claimed that learning occurs through the mediation of semiotic objects (i.e. artifacts, concepts, activity). According to Vygotsky:

“Any function in the child’s cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an interpsychological category, and then within the child (or novice) as an intrapsychological category. This is equally true with regard to voluntary attention, logical memory, the formation of concepts, and the development of volition...it goes without saying the internalization transforms the process itself and changes its structure and functions. Social relations or relations among people genetically underlie all higher functions and their relationships” (Vygotsky 1981, p. 163).

In other words, central to SCT is the notion that development reciprocally influences and is influenced by the social and historical interactions experienced by an individual in his/her social milieu. Leont’ev develops Vygotsky’s concept of mediated action as “a particular instantiation of an activity that is itself realized through situationally appropriate operations” (Haneda, 2007, p. 306). Engeström takes this a step further by situating this specific action within an ongoing community, or in a particular activity system. Thus, any local activity resorts to some socio-historically formed mediating artifacts (i.e. cultural resources including activity itself) sedimented in the routines of society at large. Yet, the socio-historically formed artifacts remain qualitatively flexible in the sense that they can be shaped and reshaped by the agentive influences of individual participant(s) as well as by the collective community and environment.

According to Wertsch, “the notion of an activity... with its motive provides a means for relating social institutional and individual psychological phenomena” (Wertsch 1985 as cited in Engeström 1999, p. 12), where an activity is constituted by the conglomeration of processes between elements such as the subject, object of activity, mediating artifacts, rules, community, and divisions of responsibility. The integral relationship of the individual components of activity is depicted in the following triangular diagram (as adapted from Engeström 1999; Haneda, 2007):

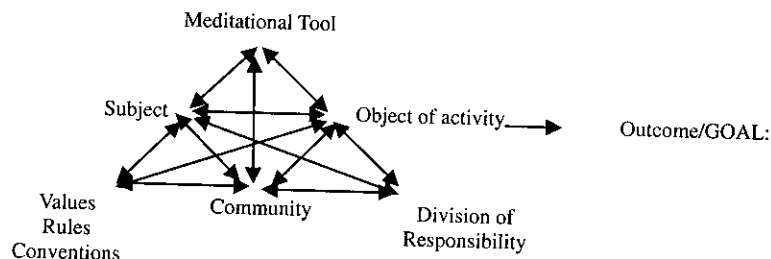


Figure 1: Local Activity

In Figure 1, the upper-most triangle is comprised of the subject (the individual or sub-group whose agentive perspective is central to the analysis), object (the object that the activity is directed towards/the motivational object of activity) and meditational tool (as defined by Vygotsky, and utilized to aid the process towards the goal/outcome of activity). The upper-most triangle represents the specific action under study and I will call this an “activity.” The elements (other triangles) below situate the action (top triangle) within a particular socio-interactive context. According to Engeström, all elements in the diagram together, constitute the unit of human activity without compromising its essential unity and integral quality. The activity system is the over arching composite which may include *another set* of human activity whose aim(s) (goal/outcome) can overlap with the activity of another. I will call a set of human activity (Figure 1) “local activity” which can be embedded within “larger activity systems” constituted by more than one local activity.

The embeddedness of action in collective practice and the reciprocal influence(s) of the components of an activity system is one of the prime focuses of this research. The individual student develops the ability to

invent and use tools made available within the classroom setting, as she or he employs rudimentary forms of thinking that are crucial to the development of learning a second language.

#### 4.0. THE STUDY

This study closely examined and analyzed talk-in-interaction in a first semester Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) class. Compared to higher level JFL classes, the students in the class observed were more object regulated (Ohta, 2001), and much of the interaction such as exchanging crucial class business information was conducted in English rather than in the target language, Japanese. Thus, the study will not preclude observation of the use of English in class although the focus will be on what functions the target language is associated with in classroom talk and what situation allows its emergence in particular activity systems (i.e. imitation).

##### 4.1. The Subjects and Setting

Three participants from the JFL class volunteered to carry a pocket-sized voice recording device during the class session for approximately 4 weeks of the semester (approximately 16 hours of recording). The class sessions were also videotaped. The audio recordings were transcribed and analyzed, and the videotapes helped clarify any aspects of the audio recording that were unclear in the voice recordings as well as provide additional data regarding gaze, posture, orientation, gesture, etc. The audio recordings were transcribed using the transcription conventions noted in the Appendix. All participants were assigned pseudonyms in the following analysis so as to protect their identities.

##### 4.2. The Data & Data Analysis

The organization of classroom activities as orchestrated by the teacher in the target language is a permanent part of the spoken interaction that takes place in class, and the teacher's talk associated with such activities was often imitated by the students in subsequent non-pedagogic interactions. For instance in Data 1, the teacher initiates an activity in which students are required to participate by conjugating the formal/polite forms of verbs into the *te*-form. In prompting the activity, the teacher habitually utilizes the request form, "Verb-*tekudasai*," ('please,' verb) in order to provide directives to students as demonstrated in lines 1 and 2.

(1A)

1. T: Activity A o **mitekudasai**.  
*Please take a look at Activity A.*
2. T: Jya, please look at me (1) look at me (1) ok, jya **itte kudasai**.  
*Then, please look at me...look at me...ok, please say (it).*
3. T: how about mimasu?  
*how about "to look" (formal/polite form)?*
4. S3: [mite  
*(te-form of to look)*
5. A: [mimashite  
*(not a target form sought by the Teacher, but also not ungrammatical)*
6. C: [mite
7. Ss: [mite

Routines were established by the teachers' habitual use of particular forms of expressions such as "Verb-*tekudasai*" to organize student participation in classroom pedagogical activities. In this particular example, the role of the teacher is clearly the organizer of the activity, and this responsibility provides the license for her to use Verb-*te-kudasai* ('please' verb), a request form commonly used to direct student behavior. The role of the students in the situation of Data 1A is to follow the teacher's directives by complying with her requests, and answering her question in line 3 by giving the appropriately conjugated verb form as lines 4, 5, 6, and 7 suggest. This was the most familiar and most pervasive structure of authentic social interactional routine evidenced in this second language class environment.

Data 1 follows the activity in Data 1A later in the same lesson, when a student, Candace (C), produces a modified imitation<sup>1</sup> of the "Verb-*te-kudasai*" form, which was demonstrated earlier by the teacher in her attempt to organize student participation in a form-focused pedagogical activity. The interaction in Data 1 took place soon after the class completed the practice of making and eliciting Group 2 (G2) *te*-form verbs (in other

words, the verb “*nete*,” (to sleep) had just been practiced). This particular situation unfolded as Student B was leaning against the wall looking as if something was wrong with her. The teacher addresses this by asking her if something is wrong in line 8. After the student reveals her stomach pain in line 9, the teacher suggests that the student sleep for a little while. Upon this suggestion, Student C takes the initiative to say “please sleep” in the target language in line 12.

- (1)
8. T: e-h-e-h-e dooshita no:, B-san? ←  
 ((*Laugh*)) *what's wrong B-san?*
9. B: onaka itai.  
 (*my*) *stomach hurts.*
10. T: onaka itai? ara, daijyo:bu? daijyo:bu? (B nods head) Are you all right?  
 (*your*) *stomach hurts? Oh, (are you) ok? (are you) ok? Are you alright?*
11. T: ok, you can sleep! o:: () ok () ya. Over there. yayaya.=  
 ((teacher points to available space, but B continues to sit at her desk.))
12. C: = *nete kudasai. ((laugh))* ←  
*Please sleep.*  
 ((whole class laughs))
13. T: hai, *nete kudasai. nete kudasai. nete kudasai.*  
*Yes, please sleep, please sleep, please sleep.*
14. T: hai, jya:jya: sore de wa desu ne:: () Past negative nan desu ga,  
*alright, now, now, let's see()* *Speaking of past negative (verb form).*

Notice, that in line 12, Candace co-opts the teachers' “Verb *te-kudasai*” form and aligns herself with the teacher in empathy for the sick student by eliciting the target form *nete kudasai* (‘please sleep’). Her utterance reflects the voice of a teacher, with grammatical correctness and the meaning/communicative intent is clear; Candace demonstrates control over certain dimensions of this talk. However, in other ways the exchange is anomalous since the perspective is incorrect because the student doesn't have the right to speak in the classroom at that particular moment. The teacher has not allocated her a turn, nor does Candace have the responsibility to organize other students' participation in the classroom. Using her partially developed concept of “*te-kudasai*,” Candace ventriloquizes through the teacher.

Furthermore, her classmates' laughter and her own laugh in response to her production of “*nete kudasai*,” make the case that line 12 was part of a word play rather than a display of empathy (although it may be both). The laughter signals the acknowledgement of a joint repertoire that is shared by everybody in their community of practice; the members of the classroom community have the common notion that only the teacher is licensed to use the *te*-form (request form) and that it is used to direct student activity as in Data 1A. In line 12 of Data 1, Candace incidentally practices something that is part of the teachers' communicative metaphor for both entertainment value and for expressing alignment with the teachers' empathy. Therefore, the modified imitation<sup>1</sup> of the teachers' “Verb-*te-kudasai*” in line 12 is warranted by the socio-cultural precedence set by her instructor in Data 1A. Candace's utterance of *nete kudasai* (‘please sleep’) is lexically, syntactically, and participation structure wise all consistent with the request forms in Data 1A.

This data set (Data 1A & Data 1) demonstrates the robustness of the process of language learning and in particular demonstrates that learners will make use of any number of incidental opportunities to develop a communicative voice of self-expression and interactional capabilities. In the process of L2 learning, Candace has demonstrated that she has taken the resonant teacher's voicing as a resource to organize her participation in the class. The following figures (Figure 1A and Figure 1B) summarizes the “larger activity system” of which the teacher and the student are integrally part of in the interaction that takes place in Data 1.

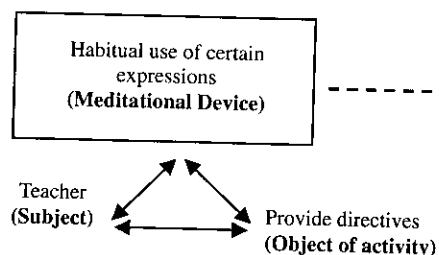


Figure 1A: Teacher's Activity

Figure 1B: Candace's Activity

Notice that the meditational means by which the teacher accomplishes providing directives, "the teacher's habitual use of certain expressions," (see Figure 1A) subsequently becomes a meditational means for Candace in the form of imitation to complete the action of wordplay (and show empathy). The social model set by the teacher serves to mediate the developmental process of her L2 production and presumably subsequent learning.

Another instance where a socio-historical precedent established by the instructor becomes a resource for learner production is when she uses the target language to show her disapproval about something, usually in response to students' questions of whether a particular word or phrase is appropriate in a certain context. In Data 2A, lines 15 and 16 are from separate instances of the teacher expressing disapproval. One is in response to a student's attempt to negotiate the content of the exam (line 15), and the other is from when a student asked for clarification on the correctness of an utterance when it was clearly wrong (line 16).

(2A)

15. T: a, sore wa **dame dame dame**. ←  
*Oh, that is no no no.*
16. T: e:? chot:o mat:e. Sore wa **chigau chigau chigaimasu**. sore wa **dame** desu. ←  
*Huh? wait a second. No, no. You can't do that.*

The words "chigau" and "dame" are used frequently by the teacher within the classroom environment. During a pair work in Data 2, we can observe how the student Barbara (B), uses a reduced and slightly modified (combined) imitation of both lines 15 and 16 to express her disapproval of the use of the term "restroom" in line 22. In Data 2, the teacher asks the students to begin the pair work (role play on "asking the whereabouts") in line 17. S3 (Barbara's partner) follows the script on the handout, but Barbara disapproves of S3's performance in line 22, and forces S3 to replace "restroom" with the word "pay phone," a term they had practiced a day before.

(2)

17. T: jya: pea wa:ku de yat:e kudasai.  
 18. T: *Please do the pair work.*  
 19. S3: sumimasen. ((S3 begins to follow the script on the handout.))  
*Excuse me.*  
 20. B: hai.  
*Yes.*  
 21. S3: otearai wa doko ni arimasu ka? ((S3 continues to follow the script as written))  
*where is the restroom?*  
 22. B: **chigau. () dame. () You have to say pay phone. We're doing=** ←  
*wrong. No. you have to say pay phone.*  
*((B suggests that the word "otearai" be switched with "pay phone."))*  
 23. S3: =a::ko:shu: denwa? ko:shu: denwa?  
*ohhh, pay phone? Pay phone?*  
*((S3 double checks that the word "payphone" is "kooshuu denwa" in Japanese))*

In the context of a role play activity, where each member of a pair is assigned to play a particular role (i.e. location seeker, location provider), Barbara interjects to make a slight modification to the content of the script provided by the instructor on a handout. Barbara does this by imitating the habitual utterances of th

teacher, using both the words "chigau" and "dame." The student is taking the resources made available via preceding authentic interactions initiated by the teacher, to construct an activity to accomplish an activity that has been regularly modeled by the teacher, to show disapproval of the content of a student's talk.

Although the terms "chigau" and "dame" are used correctly in the sense of grammar, meaning, and placement, Barbara as a student, is not within an activity system that licenses her to use this relatively direct and rather harsh sounding language. By contrast, the teacher's role within the activity system licenses her (the teacher) to speak in this way, considering the economic efficiency in which she is required to execute corrections and display her disapproval of matters that are less relevant to class or that can be dealt with through more efficient means (such as email or office hours). The students are not necessarily licensed to use "chigau" and "dame" in this particular instance, and thus, the pragmatic aspect of the interaction has not been properly internalized. Therefore, Data 2A and Data 2 show Barbara's partially developed concept of the words "chigau" and "dame," employed in an action/activity that is made salient by the socio-historical precedent of the teacher's ubiquitous use of both words in authentic class interactions. Again, what is imitated is "directive talk" that is controlling the behavior of others, a role and function that is common to the teachers' class participation.

Even more pervasive in class were the phrases used consistently by the teacher to frame the end of an activity or marking the end of class. She used the expressions in Data 3A on a daily basis:

- (3A) In class, the teacher habitually uses the following expressions to end an activity or class:
24. T: hai. **jya: owarimasu.** kaette ii desuyo. ←  
*Alright now, let's end class. You may go home.*
25. T: **jya, owarimasu.** ←  
*Ok, (this) is the end (of class).*
26. T: mo: jikan ga nai desu ne. **jya:, owarimasho:**  
*We don't have time any more. Ok, let's finish (the activity).*
27. T: **owarimashita** ka? ←  
*Did you finish (the questionnaire)?*

These expressions of ending an activity or ending a class are deeply embedded in the social routine of the class. The role of a teacher comes with responsibilities for directing people and the flow of activity. This responsibility provides the license for the teacher to use "jya: owarimashoo" as a resource for organizing class activity or directing learner behavior. In Data 3, Barbara and S3 are working on a pair activity (role play as customer and clerk). After practicing several times with a particular role, in line 34, B makes a partial closure to the activity by suggesting in English that they switch roles. In line 44, she frames the task by marking the end of the activity in the target language.

- (3)
28. B: kukkii o uh (2) mittsu onegai shimasu.  
*Three uh... cookies please.*
29. S3: kukki o mittsu desu ne?  
*three cookies? (confirmation particle)*
30. B: hai.  
*yes.*
31. S3: tii-shatsu o nimai kudasai. (1) onegai shimasu.  
*Two t-shirts, please.*
32. B: ((laugh)) ti:-shatsu no:: (3) t-shatsu o () nimai desu ne.  
*T-shirt...(particle error) Two T-shirts? (confirmation particle)*
33. S3: hai soo desu.  
*Yes, that's right.*
34. B: **wanna like (1) switch.** ←
35. B: kitte o goma kudasai.  
*Five stamps please.*
36. S3: kitte o gomaidesu ne.  
*Five stamps? (confirmation particle)*
37. B: hai

38. S3: yes.  
kukki o mit:su () onegaishimasu.  
*Three cookies... please.*
39. B: kukki o mit:su desu ne.  
*three cookies? (confirmation particle)*
40. B: a: (2) ti:-shatsu no, nimai onegai shimasu.  
*aa...two t-shirts (particle error) please.*
41. S3: tii-shatsu o nimai desu ne.  
*two T-shirts?*
42. B: hai.  
yes.
43. S3: °hai.°  
yes.
44. B: **jya, owarimashoo.** ←  
*ok, let's end (this activity).*

"Jya, owarimashoo" in line 44 is an exact imitation<sup>2</sup> of the instructor's framing of the closure of a prior activity in line 26 of Data 3A. Barbara takes the teacher's utterance from the initial context, and then uses it as a mediational tool to mark her local activity (i.e. completion of pair work). Through the utterance "jya, owarimashoo," she clearly establishes an end to the role play activity which she and her partner S3 have just completed.

However, even in this instance, "jya owarimashoo," in line 44 comes short of being colloquial with the native intuition of a Japanese speaker in a similar circumstance. Barbara imitates the teacher, drawing on the strength of the socio-historical precedent of the expression used in the familiarized context of bringing an activity to an end. Although the expression is imitated in a way that shows proper placement, correct grammar and correct use of meaning, the utilization of the phrase is pragmatically inappropriate since Barbara has picked up an expression that makes her "talk like a teacher" to indicate to her peer about her intention/desire to end the role play. Again, the teacher is licensed to use the expression "jya, owarimashoo" to mark the end an activity to direct students to the next activity or matter of importance, or to let the class know that class is over in order to fulfill the responsibility of a teachers' role. The teacher's responsibility as part of the activity system is illustrated in Figure 3A. Barbara's usage is not licensed in this sense, and a more suggestive and less authoritative version of this expression is warranted in the target language. The contradiction of appropriateness in line 44 lies in the pragmatic dissonance that occurs when a student uses the exact imitation<sup>1</sup> of a teacher's utterance in the context of ending his/her own pair work activity.

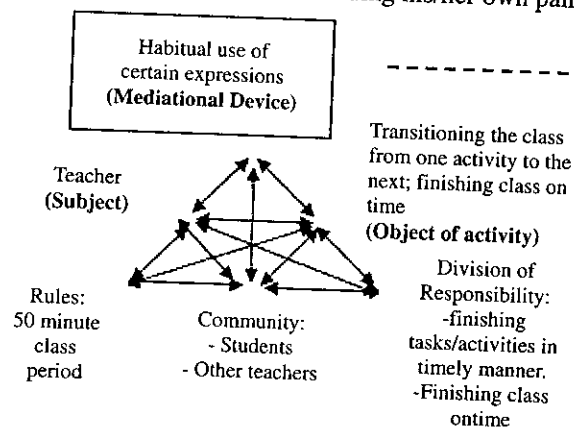


Figure 3A: Teacher's Local Activity

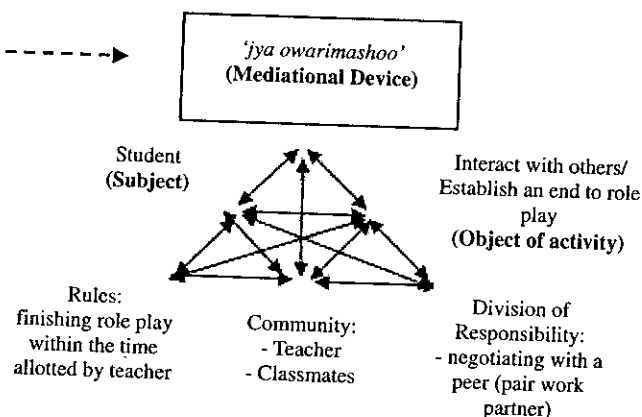


Figure 3B: Barbara's Local Activity

However, the same utterance undergoes a full transformation in Data 3. In this section of the data, students were individually working on circling answers to a questionnaire (on the handout) on the quality of service at the university. The individual answers to be selected took the following pattern: adverbs of degree + adjective (i.e. *totemo oishii desu*. ('It is very tasty.')). In line 46, Barbara is reading the last question in one of



the sections of the questionnaire. In line 48 she voices the mark of the completion of the individual activity to no one but herself.

- (4)
45. T: hai, jya: tsugi.  
*Ok, now...next.*  
(2)
46. B: toshokan wa (3) benri desu ka?  
*Is the library...convenient?*
47. T: maru tsuketa?  
*Did you put the circle? ((asking if students completed the questionnaire))*
48. B: jya: owarimashoo: (2) ka: ←  
*let's finish (this). ((as she says this, she is finishing circling the questionnaire))*  
*((B then flips her handout to the next page))*
50. B: wakarimasen (2) wakarimashita  
*((B begins to work on next handout))*

In line 48, Barbara utters an expanded imitation of line 26 of Data 3A. The historical path of the expression, "jya owarimashoo," progressed from the ecological contexts of Data 3A, to Data 3 and then finally in Data 4, the teacher's habitual use of this expression in class transforms into a meditational tool for Barbara's organization of her own action(s). She also modifies it in a pragmatically appropriate way by adding the more suggestive question particle, "ka," at the end of the utterance. In sum, Barbara demonstrates her creative imitation of available models (i.e. teachers' historically sedimented institutional routines) by employing her human agency in line 48 of Data 4. Here, "jya owarimashoo" is no longer a device used to interact with others, but is rather, an internalized means of organizing her individual activity – activity directly associated with the framing of completion of a pedagogical task. The following Figures show the historical path of the transformative mediational device:

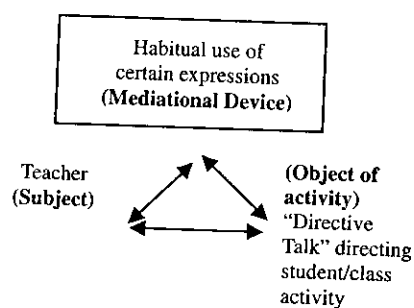


Figure 3A-2: T's activity

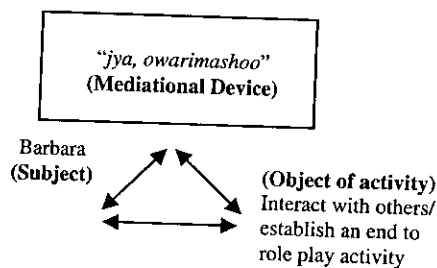


Figure 3B-2: B's activity

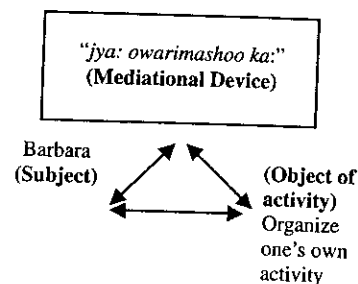


Figure 4: B's activity

The historical path of the expression "jyaa owarimashoo," progressed from the ecological contexts of Data 3A (Figure 3A-2), to Data 3B (Figure 3B-2), and then finally in Data 4 (Figure 4) the teachers' habitual use of this expression in class transforms into a meditational tool for Barbara's organization of her own action(s). This ties it back to the original socio-historical context of usage, but now it is self-regulating, which is an important step towards internalization. Is the prior use object or other-regulated<sup>3</sup>? This is based on the visual and actual completion of the task at hand, and hence the use is "iconic" with the teacher's use, suggesting "object regulation" or at best "other" regulation.

## 5.0. CONCLUSION

The data available show that, within a beginning JFL classroom setting, students can initiate interactions with each other in the target language through the imitation of the teacher's socio-historically "sedimented" routines of authentic interaction models within an institutional frame. The analysis of data from this research shows a glimpse of how "activity produces, and is informed by, the historical evolution of participating individuals, discourses, institutions, and artifacts" (Lantolf and Thorne, p. 229). In the few instances of subsequent authentic interactions observed in the target language, the students employed

various types of imitation (exact, modified, and expanded) of a prior instance of the teacher's habitual verbal actions in a social interaction within the class environment. What is salient from the data analysis, is that in essence, the teacher's habitual verbal action is also a consequence of and constitutive of how the class activity system is designed and organized. The data demonstrates that multiple activity systems present in any micro-context are always relevant and may become resources for participation in other activities/activity systems to varying degrees. In this research the focus was particularly on the activities unique to the teacher and the students participating within the data sets.

First, the learner participates in the imitation process, then through that participation we can see the potential for transformation both of the imitated talk (to self-regulation), and of the learner who is changing his/her participation in the classroom. The data shows the viability of socio-cultural theory, and the robustness of the process of language learning, even when the process is developed through classroom discourse. What students are learning is constructed in a manner that reflects not simply what they are overtly taught, but also how they see that language being used in the context of the communicative activities of the classroom. The data suggest that the availability of richer sets of authentic social interactional models in the classroom environment could have the potential to inform the students of, and subsequently yield to more appropriate ways of interacting in class with the target language. Although the instances of students using the target language in class are minimal, the examples of students interacting in the target language indicates that opportunities for authentic social interactions within a classroom setting are present/available as are the essential "ingredients" for the L2 learners' development of the use of L2 for a range of social functions within the classroom environment. The data suggest that imitation is a possible area that foreign language teachers can possibly exploit as a space that enables students to create meditational tools that shift the L2 language learners' participation in the classroom.

## 6.0. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This short-term study only encompassed a data collection over 16 consecutive class sessions. There is much need for a longitudinal study to confirm the intuitive conclusions gathered from the analysis of the data collected. More specifically, this short-term micro analytic study also lacks considering the long-term socio-historical background of the individual (i.e. previous language classroom experience of students, teacher's training and overall classroom experience as a teacher). In future research, the study can also be improved by gathering introspective views of the classroom experience from students and teachers through reflective journal writing or interviews to clarify any unclear motives/intentions of the individual in a particular moment as it presents itself in the data. However, the significance of the study is that it recognizes that imitation of authentic in-class interaction (as demonstrated by the teacher) is the predominant tool that students use in order to utilize the target language in class.

## NOTES

1. I adopt the terms used by Užgiris (1989) to differentiate between different types of imitation: Modified imitation - the "reproduction of at least one content word from the expert's utterance plus at least one word, but not more than three words not in the modeled utterance, where full reproduction of the modeled utterance is not required."
2. I adopt the terms used by Užgiris (1989) to differentiate between different types of imitation: Exact imitation - the "reproduction of all the words in the expert's utterance in their modeled order, with no changes or additions." (Užgiris et al., 1989, p. 97)
3. According to Wertsch (1985) and Ohta (2001), the terms object regulation, other regulation, and self-regulation were initially used to describe the developmental continuum, a process through which "the language of social interaction becomes a tool for the child's own thought." (Ohta, p. 13) These terms are also applied to language development by cognitively mature adults. The following definitions are taken from Ohta (2001). Object regulation - Learner is primarily responsive to whatever draws attention in the physical environment. Other regulation - Learner is responsive to the direction of other people.  
Self-regulation - Individual has full control of his/her own activity, having internalized the cognitive tools needed to direct their own behavior, and have the ability to focus without being distracted by objects or by others.

## APPENDIX

### Transcription conventions:

?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation
:	elongated pronunciation
!	emphatic/stressed pronunciation
[	overlapping speech
()	untimed pause (less than 1 second)
,	conversational pause
(( ))	comments
(word)	unclear words
=	latched speech
Wo-h-rd	laughter
°word°	whisper

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## II. Literature



## BESTWORLD, INC.

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### ABSTRACT

This is an excerpt from the dystopian novel BestWorld, Inc., set in 22<sup>nd</sup> century New West Pacifica. This work belongs in the science fiction genre and has connections to such novels as 1984. BestWorld, Inc. emerged from two future world wars as the world government, maintains control over most aspects of daily life, and enforces a societal rift. Due to global warming, tropical storms and an encroaching, polluted Pacific Ocean beset the island-city. Former corporate manager Chin seeks to overcome many obstacles to escape to a better life with other scientists and his daughter Parma.

### THE STORY

*Ding, ding, dong; ding, ding, dong.* Technical Supervisor 5 Zed Chin's eyes opened as the melodic auto-chime beckoned. The folding double bed neurologically massaged him and his wife Lourdes, propped them up and transitioned them into full wakefulness. They alighted and stepped towards the hygiene room. Doing hygiene the same time saved clean water. The antiseptic, white-sheeted bed accorded itself into the corner.

"Big day today?" Chin asked. The carpet's active fiber, a mosaic of blue-, white- and green-tinted filaments, soothed their foot soles.

"Yeah," Lourdes answered. "Presenting new products."

The hygiene room engulfed them with its soft ultraviolet lighting and soothing cerulean tint. Chin entered the blue shower. It jetted out the white mist that today evoked evergreen.

"New viewing Experiences?" Chin asked. The mist bonded with his trace body secretions, loose skin, and other dry debris.

"Yeah, for the Board's pleasure," Lourdes said, sitting on the commode and letting out a sigh. "Let's talk about it in a bit, okay. Not while I'm doing this."

A gatling-gun-style water nozzle then sprayed Chin while moving along an elliptical track overhead. The water particles beaded off the self-cleaning stall surface.

"There may be a promotion in it for me," Lourdes said.

At the arching fountain that resembled a cobra with full hood, Chin leaned over and sucked in the reactive tooth spray that today tasted of raspberries. He swished the fluid through his teeth and spat the solution out into a suction funnel. Chin glimpsed his erect, trim figure in the nearby body-length mirror on the wall. He also caught the familiar silhouette in the shower.

"I'm going to have to salute you then," Chin joked.

"Awww," Lourdes said. "Don't be like that."

Chin squatted over and evacuated into the fluid-rinse commode with Aerojet sanitary bidet option. "I got a new assignment," he said. "Preventive security. What *will* it be next?"

Back in his bedroom, Chin slipped on his white form-fitting body covering and programmed its holography for work attire. In a second, he looked the part of technician with military-style coveralls. Lourdes selected a similar outfit, albeit aerodynamic red. It accentuated her feminine attributes through alternate tightness and padding.

Together, they noshed on middle-management fare, bread with natural flavor. Before departing their Hagåtña Towers condo for another challenging work day, Chin hugged Lourdes but she did not hug him back. He looked into her eyes but could not read them except for their extreme shininess. "You've heard something about me, haven't you," Chin said.

"You're not toeing the line," Lourdes said, and his dream of her faded.

...Chin awoke naturally; unadorned off-white cinderblock walls bordered each room of his dwelling. He made his way to the bathroom, his bare feet mopping up dust and dirt from the simulated Maplewood-grain floor.

He braced himself for the frigid jolt of the shower. He often procrastinated out of anticipation of such unpleasantness. He wished the water came from deep in the earth, sealed away from the harm of the rain and the metallic soup of the ocean like it had been when he and Lourdes had been married.

Chin avoided the dull, glazed eyes peering from the other side of the mirror. When he did shave, like this morning, it was in the old way with cream and a razor cartridge. His hair had aged several gray scales the past few months. His face showed the wrinkles of emotional wear, especially sans his black wire-frame glasses and with the fluorescent lighting coming from above.

The toilet washed away the rest of his bodily waste, leaving a pungent odor. Rigid cockroaches and other insect corpses dotted the cracked beige tiling. None at all were living. He gave a silent oath to clean up—later. "Where are the broom and dust pan?" Chin said aloud.

Back in his bedroom Chin absently searched for the oval button that switched the wall to outside to transparent. He pressed repeatedly. "Security level one. Out of order." a voice whispered from a hidden speaker. "Did I lose the privilege or is it just broken?" he wondered. He had to settle for cranking the jalousies open by hand. "This fall from grace," he said. "Only a few months ago, to *this*."

Chin folded the white, worn out cot up and set it against the wall. He asked himself if this really was the best of all worlds as that philosopher centuries ago had said. He put on an old, worn brown tracksuit made of some type of textured plastic.

The chronic tropical storm raged above the monochrome island-city of New West Pacifica. Today there was merely full gray cloud cover and lighter precipitation; that was considered good weather. The invisible repellent dome-shield over the older city labored under its obsolete nuclear-solar power sources. Moisture leaked through and the wind penetrated. Chin could not recall ever having seen the sun since moving from New Northeast Pacifica, where he had been born and raised. The otherwise imposing rectilinear municipal Corporate headquarters appeared three kilometers in the distance, barely visible through the mist.

Chin went over to the common room for morning nutrition. He sat and ate his nuggets plain, as usual. He chewed quickly and gulped them down to try to avoid the bitter aftertaste.

His daughter Parma was already at her viewing and eating station. She had poured both a blue butterscotch flavor pack and her personal red cherry nutrient mix onto her otherwise inert tan nuggets. *One hundred percent free of human byproducts, rain and insect debris*, the packages read.

Parma stood six centimeters shorter than Chin's average height. Advancing into young womanhood, her rich skin pigmentation belied their virtual confinement indoors. She could have passed for East Asian except perhaps for her prominent lips. Her pure black roots accentuated her otherwise bleached hair, which loosely brushed against her shoulders like a lion's mane. She took her food bowl to the sink and then collapsed her retractable station to stand and view.

Father and daughter had talked so little since Lourdes had left them. "Good morning," Chin said to Parma with little conviction.



Parma stood and put on the viewer, an apparatus that almost completely sealed her head off from other sensory input. It resembled a bulky plastic mask and she seemed to mimic an eye-less black-faced robot. She ignored his greeting. Her lean, limber arms and legs punched and kicked in combination, but without full extension or power. She was mindful of the cramped quarters and the sultry air of their dwelling. Parma went through her full arsenal of blows but once. She tried to avoid sweating.

He offered the contact of his closed fist with hers but missed.

"Listen!" Chin finally snorted. He tried knocking on the viewer with his fist. He was still peeved with her perceived rudeness. Merely ignoring others except glancing briefly was a common practice among the young, but she could not even see him. The real sensations were still important to him.

Chin ripped off her mask.

"Owww. Oh, allllright," Parma snarled and stopped her work out. She absolutely hated interruptions to her viewing. "I was about to experience the Lost Atolls of Oceania. You know, they were formed by coral reefs."

"I thought you were in your martial arts class."

"No, that just finished."

"The north of this island was formed from reefs," Chin said.

"Wow, Dr. Encyclopedia."

"I won't have you talk to me like that."

"Okay," Parma said. "Whatever."

# VIOLET HILL

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## ABSTRACT

Violet Hill clings to the interracial underpinnings of a mixed race marriage stressed by diaspora, which becomes a motivating factor of the action, forcing the characters to create a fissured familial culture. This culture is hard-won, evidenced by the father's social ineptness, and enabled by the mother's nurturing. Essentially, this apologia frames Part II—Violet's adulthood, Sylvie's co-dependence upon Violet, and the death of Lee.

## THE STORY

Lee draped his arm around Sylvie's shoulders, hugged her close. Her previous pregnancy had been difficult and their son only lived for an hour before his heart had stopped beating. Perhaps if they hadn't let her hold him or name him, perhaps if he had lived, they wouldn't have ever moved to O'ahu. This time, they would go to a real hospital with good doctors—not some clinic in the Australian bush, not some friend of a friend. Her hazel eyes glanced down and she rested her hands atop her growing belly, resisting the urge to smile.

"You right?" asked Lee.

"Chocolate ice cream," she said, "I feel like something sweet."

"No worries," he nodded, navigating through the maze of kiosks and meandering crimson-dipped tourists, under banyan tree limbs that seemed to grow from the sky, making archways over the pavement. They crossed Kuhio Avenue to Foodland, leaving the pink clouds and azure sky outside, hapa haole music drowning out the manic pigeons and mynas sparring over branch beds. In the artificial light, the wet paste of Sylvie's skin glistened as she fanned her lime green mu'umu'u in and out, clopping the air like hyperventilating into a paper bag. Lee's lithe step was quicker than hers and her slippers smacked down the aisle behind him.

Watching his back, she envied the way he could eat anything. He still fit into his boarding school blazer, shamelessly donning it every New Year's Eve for the past five years. Granted, they couldn't afford a new dinner jacket with all the moving expenses and with his just starting a new job. They were lucky to immigrate at all, but Hawai'i needed chemists, especially since the granting of statehood nine years ago. This was the jewel of the Pacific. of America. Pearl Harbor had proven that. They weren't going to get sent back, as long as they worked hard. Saved. Besides, there was a baby on the way, and babies cost money.

Sylvie stood in front of a glass display case studying her reflection. At twenty-eight, her face was smooth. She reminded herself of her mum, except Sylvie wore a wig because the humidity depressed her hair to a sorry state.

The evening Sylvie told her parents she was marrying a Chinese, her mum's back turned abruptly away from the sink. The soapy rose and gold plate fell in slow motion, shattering, and her mum cringed as if she'd been hit. Her dad's pipe almost suffered the same fate but he caught it with both hands and burnt his palms a little. Before they sat at the table, much arm waving and finger pointing occurred. Then, the volume lowered to barely a whisper. It was late.

"I'm marrying him," she said plainly, for the hundredth time, then went to bed.

The days and nights that followed were a blur of leaving—of not wanting to be home, of only wanting to be with him. And she realized how alone with him she really was, counting the hours back by plane and the stopovers, the secret bank account she kept with just enough, just in case.

Lee's parents hadn't been exactly congratulatory of their relationship, either.

"You're selling yourself short, Hwei," said his mother in Chinese. In boarding school, the nuns had given Hong Hwei-Yin three choices: Tommy, John, or Lee refusing to contort their vocal chords to utter the boy's strange birth name. Hwei had chosen Lee because it only had three letters and three was his lucky number. "You should concentrate on finding a good Chinese girl. One who knows how to take care of a man—not this gwai lo."

Sylvie wondered if the wrinkly, old woman with a tight gray bun, only four feet, eight inches tall ever smiled. Sylvie, of course, grinned incessantly, trying to keep her shoulders from jumping with the jarring cadence of their conversation.

"Ma, you're so...frustrating," Lee replied to his mother's advice.

"Sounds like she's giving you an earbashing," whispered Sylvie through her pasted-on smile. Her cheeks were beginning to cramp, but she persisted.

"Don't bloody worry about it, Sylvie. I'll take care of this."

"Why'd you bring home a gwai lo, Hwei?" Lee's mother pouted in her chair, crossing her arms over her little breasts and humphing. "Don't you know your father has long enough days with them in the liquor store? He forces a smile for the gwai lo buying beer and cigarettes—for you, for your future—and this is how you repay him?" Lee closed his eyes, sent up a prayer to the ceiling for patience. He nodded.

"I know, Ma. When's he coming home? I've got something to tell him." The Hong's reacted in the same spirit as Sylvie's parents, except Lee's mother diligently lit firecrackers at Sylvie's feet to frighten off any evil spirits inadvertently left behind. She sobbed on the painted green porch, jumping with the jarring blasts, the blur of her tears making it difficult to move somewhere safe. Lee tried kicking the chili-sized paper bombs away without kicking his mother in the arms or face as the couple scurried down the steps, to the safety of the car.

Lee's father flew open the screen door, stood on the edge of the porch and braced himself against the post at the top of the stairs. "You're ruining your life and ours! Don't you have any respect for your ancestors? For us?" Lee revved the engine over his father's shouting as he pulled out of the driveway, his eyes on the road.

A horn blast broke Lee's reverie as he stood on Kalakaua Avenue. The rented Chevy Nova skidded, screeched, finally halting two feet from an errant child who had unexpectedly run into Kuhio Avenue. The father ran after the child, scooping him up with extended arms, then crushing the boy into the safety of his sure embrace. Lee and Sylvie halted on the corner to watch the scene unfold, plodding along when the child was safe.

The stippling of tourists milled all around the couple, rendered this Chinese man and this Caucasian woman unexceptional. Sylvie grabbed hold of Lee's hand, finding a cold paper bag instead, before he plopped the ice cream holding arm over her shoulders. And, as they reached the duplex on Olohana Street, they dared to smile a little at the fact that they were home again.

When the baby was born, Sylvie named her Matilda. She felt achy, emptied—yet, still as heavy. All alone at Kaiser Hospital on Ala Moana Boulevard, she watched the white wash curl around Magic Island's alcove. She imagined the current rushing into the Ala Wai canal—the unseen force that pushed all the water along. For some reason, it reminded her of Lee. She took the black phone from the bedside table to call him. Lifting the receiver into her lap, she touched the "9" inside the plastic circle with her fingertip. She dragged it all the way to the tiny metal triangle. Let go. The dial scraped back into place in slow motion, as if it, too, was dragging its feet. She didn't try to remember the rest of the numbers. They were there, in her head.

"Hello?" seven rings later. "Yes. Yes." Click. Ting. Thump.

When Lee finally got to the aquamarine room, the rising sun cast the hospital's shadow across the wharf, shading the bobbing little boats. His heavy eyelids uncooperatively shut in long blinks when a pair of silent patent leather sneakers arrived next to his chair and he startled at Matilda's sudden, quivering cry.

Holding the baby away from his chest like an open-handed chin-up, he grimaced at the pink bundle, then at his wife.

She didn't rush to rescue him, thinking it wise for him to accustom himself to the parcel, letting him jostle uncomfortably for long moments until he forced the tightly wrapped bundle into Sylvie's arms. She tucked the blanket under Matilda's chin and offered her breast to the shivering small mouth—that deep cavern of sound. The baby was placated, leaving them in silence.

Lee eyed the round industrial clock. It was only six. It would take him twenty minutes to get to Kaneohe. Five minutes boat ride to Coconut Island. He could read the paper in the car while he waited for the ferry. Or, stand out on the pier and watch the manta rays. Count the baby hammerheads.

"I've got to get to yakka by seven."

"Yes," she answered, not considering that the birth of their daughter might warrant a day off. In the hospital, she could actually hear herself think and she had to admit that she often felt overpowered—as if her opinions and thoughts were washed away with the current of Lee's sureness.

Just before she gave birth, she'd wanted to buy an expensive christening gown with the money her father had sent as a gift for their first child. Lee almost slapped her, his hand inches away from her face, he'd stopped himself from following through, mashing his hands into his pockets. "No way. We haven't got a brass razoo set aside for her school. We're not blowing it on that junk," he'd said instead.

All she could think of was how scared she'd been—how she shouldn't have made him angry. She soon became preoccupied with not making Lee mad, but he was like a force of nature—unpredictable, uncontrollable—raging one minute—calm and quiet the next.

"I'll rock up around eight tonight and we'll chew the fat then, aye?" Off at six, another twenty minutes back to Waikiki, he calculated. He could go for a long run, boil up some saimin, throw in some choi sum, have a cup of tea. Scratch that, cup of tea before bed. And a bikkie, when he got back at nine. Make that eight thirty. He'd have to do the dishes twice.

A peck on the forehead later, Sylvie and Matilda were alone again. The little face was like a peach—the fuzzy cheeks, the hue of the skin. She took inventory.

"Your father's nose. Your father's slanted eyes. Your father's spiky hair," as she stroked each item gingerly with her fingertip.

"Where am I?" After feeding, both fell into a deep sleep, both dreamed of being alone in a dark place, hearing the outside world murmuring incoherently.

Two years later, Matilda got a baby-brother named Vincent, and Lee and Sylvie bought a three bedroom, two bath in Kailua Bluffs. The house sat on a terraced lot with a steep hill behind it that led to preservation land, where the Medeiros' mule grazed in the tall grass. Though their backyard was a great green wall—they could see the ocean from their living room and the Ko'olau's from their back patio.

When Sylvie shopped, she'd sling Vincent in a papoose carrier over her shoulder, pushing her cart with one hand and holding Matilda's hand with the other. At home, when she put him down, the boy would cry. Matilda would slip her hand through the wooden slats of his crib, cooing at her little brother. He'd quiet, his brown eyes turning toward the direction of her voice, no longer alone.

In the evenings, Lee would lay his son on his chest, petting the soft hair like a cat. Vincent loved to be held and fell asleep to the rhythm of Lee's breath. *My son, my son*, Lee would say to the fuzzy head, as he dreamed about teaching the boy chemistry and considered the materials he'd need to realistically represent molecules. He couldn't wait to show the boy the Fosbury Flop, the triple jump, and the long jump, too. He dreamed of taking him back to Australia to meet his boxing friends, his boarding school family

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Over the next several years, Sylvie wrote home constantly. Calling on the telephone was reserved for very special occasions, since the cost of a twenty-minute call to Australia was an extravagance their four-person household could scarcely afford. Those forty dollars were better spent on groceries. In October of 1973, the phone rang and it was Sylvie's mum. Sylvie sent five-year-old Matilda and three-year-old Vincent outside to play.

When Lee came home, he plopped into the swiveling lime armchair and stared up their front yard at the curve in the road. The Kea girl from six houses up the street stood at the top of the horizon with her skateboard under her left foot, scraping it back and forth. Lee wondered how she'd manage the four-way stop at the bottom of the street. He squeaked around, to look up and ask what was for dinner when Sylvie forced a little cough.

She sat on the edge of the coffee table and stared at her hands in her lap, starting in a small voice, "Dad had a heart attack...he's in hospital...they don't think he'll make it." She twisted the watch on her left wrist, intent on her hands, watching them, as if she wasn't sure what they'd do.

Out of the corner of his eye, Lee saw the Kea girl sit down in the middle of the board, then lie on her stomach with her hands outstretched, pulling the asphalt back and forth.

"I'm going home for a bit to help mum. The children will have to stay here with you."

The Kea girl propelled herself forward, steering round the curve, whizzing past the window, her ponytail rippling in the wind behind her. He heard a *whieee!* Then, a screech. A blaring horn. He waited for the sound of smashing metal, the thud of concrete. But nothing came. Something should have happened. Something bad. Something irreversible. Lee waited, calculating the time/speed ratio. The girl had no way of stopping...unless...

"Are you listening to me?" Sylvie asked. And Lee saw her face for the first time that day. Her bright sad eyes, the way the left was slightly smaller than the right. Her little ears. He took in the creases of her neck and the supple lines of her collarbone. *You are beautiful*, he thought, and smiled at her, his whole face breaking. Out of the corner of his eye, the Kea girl loped back up the hill, skateboard hooked in her hand. He started laughing in quick uncontrollable snorts.

And for the first time since she spoke with her mum, Sylvie began to cry. The more he laughed, the more she cried. They were quite a pair—shoulders heaving, both gasping for air. One curling in, the other, chest lurching out. When he finally got control of himself, he stood and sat next to her, enclosing her into his sinewy arms. She cried, open mouthed, into the base of his throat.

"It'll be right," he said. "There, there. She'll be apples."

When Sylvie returned from her father's funeral, she went to see Dr. Ping about missing her period. Eight weeks along in her pregnancy, she was diagnosed with gestational diabetes.

"My best advice to you is to get an abortion, Mrs. Hong. I hate to put it this way, but it's going to come down to you or the baby," Dr. Ping said into her manila folder.

"What do you mean?" asked doe-eyed Sylvie.

"You're risking your life by continuing this pregnancy," emphasized Dr. Ping, slapping the file on the counter.

There was an awkward silence as Sylvie gazed out the window at the rainbow-shower tree outside. The breeze swirled through the yellowish pink blossoms and some floated to the ground. On one of the branches, a striped red straw caught her eye, interwoven with bits of dirty twine. In the midst of the bundled trash there

were three little beaks, their slender necks strained to the sky. She thought she could hear them chirping above the sounds of traffic, over the motor of the ceiling fan. She climbed down from the examination table and faced Dr. Ping, her legs slightly apart, her hands trembling into fists. "I understand," said Sylvie, a quaver in her voice.

When she got home, Lee sat her down on the edge of their bed and closed the door. He showed her a pie chart with his budget for his plans to open his own real estate business.

Sylvie closed her eyes, reminding herself to breathe, and prayed, *Lord, have mercy. Christ, have mercy. Lord, have mercy. Christ, have...*

"Don't hold your mouth like that. She'll be right. The Andersons are in escrow and should be closing within the next two weeks. To top it off, I've got the Saiki's ready to make an offer. Mrs. Hakuma is looking for an apartment and selling her place on Woodlawn and—"

"I'm pregnant."

Lee kissed his wife on the cheek. "One more won't break the bank," and he hugged her, clenching her close. A third child would make their family complete, even if this last one *was* unplanned. Lee dared to hope for two sons before Sylvie explained the risk she was taking and Dr. Ping's advice.

"But—what will happen if it's the baby and I have three kids, all by myself?"

"It'll all come good, Lee, if it's God's will. Besides, I couldn't live with myself if I did something like that," she said at the thought of an abortion. "I wouldn't ever be able to forgive myself for killing a blessing from God. I would think about it every day. I would hate myself."

"But what if..." He couldn't finish his sentence, unable to admit aloud what he was thinking. Doing the subtraction in his head, he surmised the possibilities. First, he could be a single parent with three children. Second, he could remarry. Third, he could send the kids back to his parent's. He grimaced at the work entailed by each option, preferring that Sylvie remain the mother of his children.

"She'll be right, Lee. God never gives us what we can't handle."

Lee believed in God. For a little while, he felt better. He thought he was a fair father. *I'm definitely not the worst*, and he remembered being sent off to boarding school when he was five years old. The sloop pulled away from the rickety pier, his mother grew tinier and tinier, his father walked away while he still waved. All of those nights alone, staring out the window at the Sydney lights, wishing for someone to tuck him into bed, wishing for someone to kiss him goodnight, like the Blue Fairy did in *Pinocchio*. The nights he woke up to the sound of thunder and lightning, he'd cover his head with his blanket and try to pray. The nuns taught him the Hail Mary and he'd repeat it until he drifted off asleep.

Later, when Lee was sixteen, he grew tired of being pushed around by the tall, meaty Aussies who'd bully him for sport. He joined a gym, learning to prance around the ring, to bob and weave. His favorite Bible story was Samson and Goliath. He could learn how to outsmart those drongos, to bide his time until, tired of chasing the chogee, they unwittingly exposed themselves and caught a left in the kidney, an uppercut to the chin, a one-two combination to the solar plexus.

When Lee went home during school vacations, his father's double shots of whiskey—"To my number one son!" until he stank of alcohol—the whiskey would try to escape any way it could—vaporizing out the pores, pumping up from the stomach.

His father would peacock the long satin ribbons Lee had won from competitions at school, pinning them to the breast of his white undershirt, and messily box around the kitchen table. The old man knocked over the spices on shelves, bruising himself on the counter and the Frigidaire. Lee took the blows, accepted them like penance—left his father's pride intact.

*I took care of myself. The children will be fine. They're meant to get stronger—not weaker.*

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After spending the entire pregnancy convinced that it would be a boy—even Dr. Ping said, “The heartbeat is strong. It must be a boy”—Violet was born. When Violet went home, Sylvie stayed in hospital. Dr. Ping diagnosed Sylvie with type-one diabetes from the trauma of birthing. From the day of Violet’s birth until her own death, Sylvie would have to prick herself before each meal to check her blood sugar level. She’d have to inject herself with pig’s insulin every day, said Dr. Ping—“No more sugar.”

Sylvie didn’t want to go home. The thought of the blood, oozing onto the test strip—the needle, piercing into her own skin—she didn’t think she could do it to herself. And it occurred to her that she could be cursed.

Her mother-in-law had diabetes, too. When Sylvie and Lee were first married, the couple had no choice but to live with Lee’s parents. The two-story home always smelled of fish in Sylvie’s opinion. Like Sylvie, Lee’s mother didn’t want to inflict the shots on herself, so when he was around, Lee was forced to do it for her. He always cringed at his mother’s “Aieeee!” every time the tester stung his mother’s fingertip. He’d turn his head away after the syringe became another tiny appendage in his mother’s stomach, pushing down the plunger slowly, so that none of the medicine exploded out the side.

*How can she make him do that?* Sylvie always thought, as she watched Lee un-stab the metal, as if it were growing out from the skin, a strange dermoid cyst being born. No, she would somehow have to give herself the shots.

After being released from the hospital, Sylvie stayed home with Violet and shuttled the other two between school and home. Violet learned that when mommy fell down every few days, no one heard her cry and no one picked her up. She learned to wait next to her mother’s body, gently prying the eyelids open with her little fingers until they stayed that way on their own. During those moments between falling and waking, Violet felt as if she were alone in the world, abandoned. As Violet grew, she tried to tell mommy that she loved her every day. She often drew mommy holding her hand next to a tree with a green cloud on top.

When Violet went to her first day of pre-school, Sylvie pulled the car into the parking lot in front of the schoolyard. Sylvie pried Violet’s sobbing body out of the car, carried her to the classroom. She put Violet down and saw the other children playing with blocks. One little boy pushed wooden beads along colorful misshapen wires. Above them, a large poster of Jesus hung, his hands outstretched, blessing the children’s bowed heads. The background was powder blue, offsetting his piercing blue eyes, and a perfectly trimmed beard surrounded his mouth. In the corner, a small throng of children sang along with a record, “This little light of mine, I’m gonna let it shine...”

Mrs. Phillips held the thrashing Violet as Sylvie closed the door behind her. Moments later, from the other side of the door, she heard Violet pounding and shrieking incoherently. Sylvie held her hand to the door, absorbing the vibrations with her eyes closed as she prayed.

*Please, dear God, make her stop. Let her know I love her. Let her be at peace.* And, almost as if she had been heard, Violet sank to the ground. Her little body crumpled and heaved under the weight of it all, air whistled through her stuffed nose. *Thank you, Jesus. Thank you, Lord,* prayed Sylvie, assured that her prayer had been answered. But Violet hadn’t heard Jesus. Violet had heard Sylvie. Rather, she’d felt Sylvie through the door somehow—as if all the waiting she had done next to Sylvie’s lifeless body had inextricably linked the two.

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Sylvie sat up straighter at the breakfast table. It was Saturday afternoon and she heard the door click open, knew Lee would round the kitchen corner to join her.

“Cuppa tea?” Lee said, as he walked past her, his eyes on the shiny billy.

"Mmhm," said Sylvie, suddenly aware of the loud sound of water splashing against the metal, expanding, pushing out the air.

Lee placed the billy on the black coils of the stovetop, clicked the knob to high.

"I don't think I can do this anymore," said Sylvie.

"Hmm?"

"I don't think I can...do this anymore."

Lee turned and looked at Sylvie, squinting with his nose scrunched up, as if he smelled something rancid.

"What the hell are you talking about?"

"I'm talking about...well, this," Sylvie explained, making two big circles with her arms, her hands referring to the whole room. "I'm talking about this house. The bills. I'm talking about Matilda's May Day dress and Vincent needs braces. Violet and the Girl Scouts. Soccer practice. Basketball practice. Swimming lessons. Parent-teacher conferences and homework." Lee looked at Sylvie as if she were a puzzle piece without a place. His piercing stare made Sylvie stammer. She took a deep breath, "I...I just didn't think all of this would be so much work."

"What do you mean? You wanted kids. You wanted this house. You think all that comes easy? You think money grows on trees?"

"I'm not one of the children, Lee. I'm saying I didn't think I'd have to do everything alone. I didn't think I'd become the only parent while you sit in your office all day and night on the phone with strangers."

"I'm obviously working, Sylvie," said Lee, crossing his arms and skewing his head down and away, as if he'd been slapped.

"Yes, you're working. Then, you're training for the marathon. Then, you're at the track, practicing your long jump, your triple jump, your god forsaking high jump. Then, you're reading books or writing letters. I'm not trying to be a knocker. I just need to know—when are you going to be a father?"

A high whistle came from the billy, like a referee signaling a time-out.

Lee turned his back on Sylvie and huffed. He grabbed the metal handle, pressing his entire palm down all at once.

"God damn it!" He jumped back like a rounded cat, his shoulders almost touching his ears, barely forgetting to release his fingers from the grip. The billy bounced a bit, sloshing boiling water to the floor that splashed at his ankles. He held one hand with the other, clutching it to his chest and stepped quickly to the sink in one long stride. Cold water ran over the bubbling line that began to grow like another lifeline across his palm.

Sylvie stood, wiped up the small puddle and fanned the moist tea towel across the oven handle to dry. She went over to stand at the double sink, stared out the window at the wall of grass reflecting lime light onto the white walls of the living room. Her vision blurred, melding the little yellow flowers with the weeds and purple crab grass.

Two summers ago, Lee had hacked a path up the hill and the dirty red line of it angled like one arm of a giant "X" through the green. Up the hill, he'd built a tree house with three levels, one for each of the kids, next to the drainage ditch that kept the heavy rains from spilling into the yard. Still, when the rainy season came, a pool formed in the grooves of the flat, filling them with ankle-high muddy puddles.



It started to rain.

Lee stopped the faucet, jarring Sylvie back to the kitchen with the sudden silence.

"What do you want from me?"

"I want you to stop being so selfish. I want you to help. I want you to want to help me."

"Is that all? Why didn't you say that in the first place?" asked Lee with a laugh, and put his arm over her shoulder, fitting her close. The scent of her hair was all apples. He breathed it in.

"That's all I want," she said, and smiled hopefully.

A few weeks later, Lee called twelve-year-old Matilda and ten-year-old Vincent into his home office. Slumped outside the door, they fidgeted, discussing what they could have possibly done wrong this time. Lee called them in after he got off the phone and explained that it was time to start the Hong Kid's Training. He had seen a show on Nova about the Voyager's first landing on Jupiter and decided it was time to prepare his children to do fantastic, world-changing things.

They practiced the cheer Lee agonized over for the month he'd been preparing the curriculum. "Hong Kids Are Tough!" they yelled like a battle cry before sitting on the floor. Lee's lecture began with the importance of hard work and discipline.

"It's like going to McDonald's with Mom," he explained, "and having the self-control to keep the paper bag closed until you get home." French fry sneaking was a punishable offence. He distributed the two collated binders containing articles and activities, with blank pages for journaling.

"Why isn't Violet included?" Sylvie had asked Lee one night when their bedroom door was closed.

"Too young," was Lee's answer.

But Violet didn't feel too young. She snuck outside and stood on her tiptoes. Her fingers on the dirty sill, she craned to hear the voices. Lee's swiveling chair squeaked rhythmically as he propped his thumb and pointer finger under his chin, gathering his thoughts.

"You should always tell the truth, even if it hurts someone's feelings," Lee said to the corner of the room above the door. "A sin of omission. Now, write this down, Matilda. Vincent. A sin of o-m-i-s-s-i-o-n is when you keep silent, rather than tell someone the truth. Vincent, remember when you wet your bed and didn't tell Mom or me until the next night? The reason I spanked you was because you committed a *sin of omission*."

"Violet!" Sylvie barked. "What are you doing?" All eyes in the office turned to the glass louvers to see Sylvie's head, her pointer finger waving in the air. "I thought I told you eavesdropping is very, very bad—just like listening in on Matilda's phone conversations. I want you *inside*, young lady—get me the rice paddle right now." Sylvie smacked Violet's open palm with the wooden spoon twice to teach her a lesson, and she winced, numbing the sting with a grimace.

Violet felt lucky that Lee was still busy with Matilda and Vincent because she feared being belted over anything else. The first time Violet had stuck out her tongue at the dinner table—she couldn't remember at whom—Lee took her to the bedroom and told her to pull down her pants. She lay there for long minutes as Lee walked to the closet and chose a leather belt.

"Turn around or you'll get more," Lee said to the child's back.

But Violet couldn't help looking. She couldn't help wanting to know when it would start, so that it could be over. She started crying.

"Stop bloody crying," Lee said, disgusted. He pulled back his arm with a deep breath, whistling the belt through the air, clapping it hard on the back of Violet's thighs, the tongue end of the leather, licking around her quadriceps.

"You shouldn't have gotten him angry," Sylvie said to Violet when it was over. "You should have done what he told you to do."

"She's right," said Matilda. "Don't argue and don't look. You can cry when it's over."

Violet lay on her stomach, her eyes were red and her nose was stuffed. She couldn't understand why he'd said, "This hurt me more than it hurt you," when he was finished. How could that ever be true? Then, he'd forced her to hug him—to tell him that she loved him. She would never forgive her father for making her feel so powerless. She would never forget the shock. The rage. And she would never be a little girl again.

For the first few months of the Hong Kids Training, Matilda and Vincent sat obediently, enjoying the rare attention Lee bestowed upon them. Violet got the television and the record player to herself for the duration. But, after failed quizzes and insufficient participation, Vincent and Matilda learned to envy Violet just as much as she envied them. They told her that she wasn't belted enough and regaled her with tales of before-she-was-born horrors. She started biting when they called her a brat.

"Animal," they said. "Mom's calling you," they said when she followed them up the street to play with the neighborhood kids.

"Yeah, your mom's calling you," the other children taunted, even though Violet could look down the hill and see that both the station wagon and the silver hatchback were gone.

Violet would trudge home anyway, pretending after the fourth or fifth time she was that gullible. From the front window, she watched the other kids play chase in the street until it made her too sad, and she had to escape by watching TV. When Lee's car was in the driveway, she'd quickly turn it off, jump up and run to her room, pretend she'd been reading a book the whole time.

"Vincent! Matilda! Come home!" Lee yelled up the street from the front door. He made sure that they'd done their chores and told them, "That's enough playing for one day—can't you do something constructive like Violet?"

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When he finally got his license, Vincent begged to drive the family to dinner. Every Sunday, the family would cross the Pali for Bob's Big Boy in Mapunapuna. Afterwards, they would park for free at the airport, walking through the open air corridors and watching the planes. At the international terminal, Lee and Sylvie would sit chatting while the kids played on the escalators or stairs. This evening though, Sylvie was especially talkative during the drive. The lack of sugar in her system was making her a little dizzy, but the problem with hypoglycemia was that it made her indecisive. She chatted away, enlivened, trying not to think about the sudden heaviness of her head.

Sylvie stared at the checkered apron on the waitress' stomach as the family ordered, muttering "Mahi Mahi," when Violet nudged her and heard Lee insist, "Water for everyone." The waitress walked away as Sylvie started to sing "Danny Boy," swaying side-to-side as Violet snuggled in under Sylvie's soft arm, hugging her. When the song was finished, Sylvie broke Violet's embrace and lifted the water pitcher, laughing.

"What are you doing?" Lee asked Sylvie accusingly as she propped herself up on one knee, and hovered the pitcher over his head.

"Dare me," said Sylvie.

"Don't be ridiculous," said Lee, disgusted.

"I dare you," said Vincent.

"Me, too," said Matilda, but Sylvie was talking to her husband.

"Dare me. I'll do it. Just dare me that I won't."

The pitcher sloshed dangerously and the three children gasped, laughing nervously. They exchanged looks, realizing all together that this might not be funny.

"Sit down," barked Lee. "People are staring at you."

"I don't care," she said, challenging him with her eyes. "Dare me."

"Damn it, Sylvie," said Lee with a huff, and he stood up to escape to the bathroom.

Sylvie put the pitcher down, watching Lee stomp away through the maze of brown booths until he morphed into a blob behind the bubbly plastic divider, disappeared behind the wooden wall.

She looked at Matilda, whose dark brown hair had just been permed for the first time. The soft curls suited Matilda's face and cushioned her forehead and cheeks. Matilda's golden hoops glittered, framing her face.

"Mom, are you okay?" someone asked.

"Mmm? Fine," slurred Sylvie, who slowly moved her gaze to Vincent. *What a beautiful boy*, she thought, admiring the high cheekbones, the way his slender face hid dimples until he smiled. *The glittery diamond in one ear must be just a phase*, she assured herself, shooing from her mind the ensuing argument and the belting Vincent received because of it.

"Mom?" said Violet, recognizing the glaze coming over Sylvie's eyes, touching her arm to feel the clamminess, checking the cheeks that blanched with each passing moment.

Sylvie blinked long, breathed in, and swiveled her head to look down at Violet.

Violet's pink yarn bows at the base of her ponytails sharpened and softened intermittently. The golden flecks in her bangs reminded Sylvie of honey. Violet had just pierced her ears and the two little golden balls made a sentence of her face.

Lee plopped back into the booth, puffing Matilda up before she sank back down.

"Now, are you gonna stop lairing it up?" Lee spat.

Sylvie gazed in the direction of the voice, unable to focus, her head feeling heavier by the minute

"Juice! She needs juice!" said Violet in a panic, waving the waitress over. When she finally drank the small glass dry, it was almost too late. Shivering in the coldness of air conditioning and damp clothes, her head ached as if she had gone from one extreme climate or elevation to another. She had the sugar bends, suddenly limp from the exertion of it all.

Vincent and Matilda exchanged a look, their mouths hung open with concern as Lee considered Sylvie, reached across the table, touched her head in a kind of absolving.

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"Vincent!" Lee yelled.

"Yeah," Vincent responded with a huff.

"Come in here."

For the ensuing half hour, Violet heard Lee talking sternly to Vincent through the thin wall that separated her room from Lee's office. She heard Sylvie knock on the locked office door. It opened and shut. Violet could hear the muffled voices getting louder. She imagined Sylvie trying to intervene, her whinnying pitch above Lee's bellowing and Vincent's occasional grunts. Sylvie, standing between a pacing, sweaty Lee and a cowering, hunched-over Vincent. Then, the sound of shuffling as the door opened and the volume amplified.

"Stay right where you are," barked Lee.

"Get out, Vincent," shrieked Sylvie. "This is enough, Lee. I mean it. Vincent, I want you to get up and leave right now."

"Goddamn it, Vincent. You move an inch and I swear..."

"You'll what, Lee? You'll what?" Sylvie's voice went higher. "You'll belt him? He's twenty-one, for Christ's sake! Over my dead body."

Violet saw the thud in her mind and it echoed there indefinitely. She heard Sylvie's body clap thunderously against the metal filing cabinet. Violet ran to the open door and scurried to cradle Sylvie's head off the floor.

Sylvie's eyes were open, a trickle of blood dribbled down her temple. From the corner of her eye, she saw Vincent beginning to stand. She saw Lee, clenching his fists.

When the police finally came, Sylvie refused to file a report. She told the children to take the car and drive around the island.

"Do you remember why we got married?" asked Sylvie, when they were alone. Lee nodded somberly.

"Look at me, Lee. It's been over twenty years we've been together. I should have left you a long ago. When I think about all of the hurt you've caused me and the children, I can't believe I stayed so long."

"Look, Sylvie," Lee started.

"No. I won't look. I won't look anymore."

"I remember the first time I saw you. You were sitting under a weeping willow tree, reading a book. I tried to impress you by jumping across the stream and fell into the rushing water instead. I was such a Wally back then, so full of promise, so misguided."

Sylvie remembered. "That was a long time ago."

"Not for me," said Lee. "Instead of laughing, you rushed to the bank and helped me get my feet on the ground. I knew then that you weren't like those other girls. I knew that you had the dinkie di of good hearts—and I was dead set on marrying you. That's why I cracked onto you all those months and never gave up on making you my wife. I think about that day every time I get out of bed. It's what makes me go out there and kick ass for the family—for you."

"Lee, I'm zonked from all this rubbish. I'm stuffed from fighting with you, and I can't bear to watch you harass the children. I think—" she took a deep breath—"I think—you're killing me," she heaved out, shriveling with each word.

Lee put his arm around Sylvie and somehow, she stayed. Still, it was as if none of the words made a difference anymore—they clunked to the ground like stones to bury her standing up. It was the vow they'd made to each other, to God. The vow manacled them together, cementing Sylvie to Lee, the words blending the time, bruising the future, blocking out the sun.

When the children returned, something was different. Lee tried to pretend everything was fine—that nothing had happened, like all the times he kicked Vincent out of the house one night and then “forgot” about it the next day. Violet could sense a shift in Sylvie. She didn't look Lee in the eye anymore. She barely spoke to him. There was a grayness about her—a kind of dying that hadn't been there before. It was as if she had given up hoping that Lee would change. It was as if, all these years later, she'd finally accepted him for who he was.

When Hurricane 'Iniki came on September 11, 1992, Violet was sent home from school. Riding the bus with strangers made her feel safer, the shelter of anonymity somehow shielding her from the whipping wind and swatting branches. Leaves smacked up against the window, shot away, and she shivered a little in the air conditioning.

When she reached her stop, she was startled by the strength of the wind—walking into it at an angle with both hands pinned at her thighs, trying to keep the plaid uniform skirt from blowing up around her face. Almost home, it started to rain horizontally. The rain, like hundreds of flicking fingers against the front of her body, penetrated through her clothes, making her skirt heavy, her white blouse transparent. The dripping rain, in rivers down her chest, over her hips, ran swiftly down her legs, slopped and pooled inside her tennis shoes.

Dry and at home an hour later, Violet heard Lee's car in the driveway, went to the front door, opened it. The wind died suddenly, an eerie orange light came through the clouds. Violet could see a grey curtain of clouds arcing into the ocean from the Ko'olau's.

“Thank goodness everyone's here,” said Sylvie, popping out from the passenger side as Matilda turned off the ignition. “We were just listening to HPR and the storm's half-finished. This must be the eye.”

The five of them stood in the driveway, stilled by the uncanny afternoon sun appearing in the eye of the storm. Violet stood a little behind them, noticed the hunch of her mother's back, the way she seemed to be bracing herself. Violet watched Lee try to put his arm around Sylvie's shoulders, watched as she shook him off, inched away. She wanted to tell her mother, *Don't do it for us. We're miserable because you're miserable*, though she wasn't sure she could speak for Vincent or Matilda.

Vincent, whose broad shoulders seemed strong enough to carry the weight of the world. He wished he were still at his girlfriend's house in Mililani, with her family—who knew how to talk pidgin and eat laulau. Who knew how to best forget—drinking beer out of green bottles and playing the 'ukulele late into the night.

Next to him, Matilda watched the black wall close in from the sea, darkening everything in its path—making the little houses disappear. She concentrated on one blue roof, waited for the dark rain to engulf it—eat it up. She was like that little house, she thought, socked in by this awkward, foreign family. Drowning in the weight of them.

Violet stepped farther away, her face up-turned to the sky. She closed her eyes in long blinks, seeming to search inside for a way to sever herself from the situation—to cut herself out from the moment, to be alone somehow, somewhere else.

# CREATING BUSINESS BIOGRAPHIES: HOW BUSINESS PEOPLE SELL THEMSELVES AND THEIR MOTIVATIONS

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## ABSTRACT

This paper explores unspoken rules for success in business. Creating a back-story is a required tool for businesspeople. Stories self-motivate, encouraging tenacity when one fails or feels discouraged. Stories are also used to create a public persona, inspiring trust. Defining these thematic tropes reveals narratives as tools, which provide necessary and dynamic ingredients for chasing, having and reflecting upon success.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

I started selling residential real estate because I wanted a challenging career that did not require me to sit in a cubicle all day. I also wanted a position with high earning potential and the opportunity to use my customer service background. I found many of my first customers at the bar where I worked, and I parlayed many discussions into real estate pitches after a few drinks. I made many mistakes and felt insecure about my experience in the field, so I tried to mould my experiences into something relevant by saying that I had ten years of customer service. When pressed, would reveal that my actual experience was slinging drinks. Because of this, I had to prove myself by working hard.

I moved into commercial real estate because my father was diagnosed with prostate cancer and asked me to help him. It never occurred to me that I was following in his footsteps. As a child, I had a very mediocre opinion of his profession, as he was always working and often emphatically frustrated. Ironically, I began working all day and night, mimicking my father's work ethic.

After two years of doing both, I finally quit my job as a bartender and I found I worked much harder for myself than I did for my employer. My clients are sophisticated investors vastly familiar with business transactions, so knowing what I am doing is imperative. Yet, the ability to be a great realtor is not based only on a mastery of details; it is also reliant on the ability to sell ones' self.

Luckily, a colleague coached me on how to frame my credentials in a more reliable way. I noted that he had previously been a day trader and was in terrible debt—his creditors harassed him and even threatened his life. Despite this, he was entirely confident. I had more clients and experience, but he was making more money. He reminded me that my father had been in real estate for over thirty years. My brother also has over ten years of experience. In my family, real estate business skills are a birthright and I had real reasons to be confident. Given this understanding, I shifted my perspective from focusing on my work experience to emphasizing my genealogical connections to real estate. My family's reputation usually gives me automatic credibility, and I deflect attention away from myself by discussing my family and the deals I've closed to avoid divulging much of my personality, or previous work experience.

This essay gave me a chance to think about the unspoken rules for success and to read eight business biographies about eight very successful businessmen. In these texts, I was able to identify some of the methods businesspeople use to define themselves through the genre of biography. This act of creating a back-story is a required tool for businesspeople, a technique used for many reasons. Stories self-motivate by encouraging tenacity when one fails or feels discouraged. Without a worthwhile justification, one would certainly quit. Stories are also used to create a public persona, inspiring trust. As professional qualifications, these success stories reversely portend a certain success and reinforce clients' expectations. The success or failure of the story means the beginning or end of a relationship. In this way, the teller must listen closely and choose which story to tell, editing for the sake of the listener. As such, the business biography genre is an extremely dynamic form of life narrative, since one's livelihood depends upon it.

The business biography section in most bookstores is usually buried between financial self-help books and business manuals and is typically not very extensive. Many subjects piece their lives together in multiple volumes, written after a significant number of events have occurred, which assumedly assists in furthering their

career. Most cover photos are of the subject: a man in a smart business suit with a conservative tie, taking a Superman-like stance with his eyes gazing into the distance. A cursory glance at the business section may give the casual browser the impression that all business biographies are the same. A closer look reveals a variety of covers: vistas and logos, patterns and silhouettes. These differences reveal nuances within the genre and denote just as many routes to success, though all call upon similar sources.

The form for business biographies harkens back to Benjamin Franklin's *The Autobiography*. Though it is a secular text, there is a sense of spiritual destiny. Retrospectively, Franklin begins the text by stating "thanks to Providence", hinting that he was helped along the way (16). Reinforcing this idea is the fact that on his way to Boston, he meets the right people and stumbles toward success. When he wanted to leave a place, "a boat came by" (38). Powerful friends happen to be around him and offer to fund his printing business. As a boy, he is a leader among boys. His father is an arbitrator, "frequently visited by leading men who consulted him...and who showed a good deal of respect for his judgment and advice" (24). Franklin's narrative suggests that his lineage destines him to become a leader among men.

Another source for the business biographical form is found in works by Horatio Alger Jr., a 19<sup>th</sup> century author who offered a prescriptive, formulaic approach to rising above poverty. Through his novels, he offers a "how to" guide, with his own life serving as an example. In his first novel, the main character, Ragged Dick, does not steal. He is naturally generous and values saving money and attaining an education. Dick discovers a kind of karmic serendipitous generosity. In other words, good things seem to come his way because he is good. He values integrity, hard work, honesty and generosity above all else. These themes harken back to the Golden Rule in Christianity (Do unto others as you would have them do unto you (Mathew 7:12)) and are opposed to the Machiavellian ideal (the end justifies the means (Machiavelli, 1)) that most businesses seem to adhere to. Dick saves a boy from drowning, and his father gives him a new suit and offers him a job for "ten dollars a week [which] was to him a fortune, and three times as much as he had expected to obtain at first" (184). The his introduction to this novel, Michael Meyer poignantly comments,

For more contemporary readers who are more than a little wary and skeptical of the benevolence of American business practices, corporate values, and employer loyalties, the respectability that Dick achieves at the novel's end may seem like the beginning of a cruel joke. If Dick's prospects of "fame and fortune" seem merely nostalgic and improbable, his actual principles—honesty, hard work, conscientiousness, hopeful expectations, and charity—are not. To laugh at those values, to dismiss them as naïve, unworldly and simpleminded, is to spurn genuine virtue and to wink at the rapacious villains of the piece who are the cheats, liars, and unscrupulous manipulators. His villains may seem more credible, but Alger's heroes are worth remembering even if his readers are chastened by history (xviii).

Meyer's admiration of Alger's heroes echoes the American idealism evident in business' aspirations, pathos and ethics. Through these values, Franklin and Alger offer modern business biographers a template from which to narrate their individual lives and illuminate the themes that radiate through the genre. Central to this genre is what Smith and Watson identify as a "bildungsroman" model in their *Fifty Two Genres of Life Narrative*. This is a meta-genre for business biographies, where the author creates a story of "development and social formation of a young man" (189) and the "social formation unfolds through a narrative of apprenticeship, education in "life," renunciation, and civic integration into bourgeois society" (101). This overarching trope provides us with an understanding of business biography's basic components.

Also evident in business biographies is a sense of being self-made. Smith and Watson quote Karl Joachim Weintraub as saying, "This heuristic device posits, on the one hand, the adherence of men to great personality ideals in which their culture tends to embody its values and objectives—and on the other hand, a commitment to a self for which there is no model" (127). The self-made man seemingly goes against the theme of "providence" and serendipitous generosity, or karma, since the basis for modern success is increasingly internal.

The value of the individual or uniqueness of the products they represent is extremely important for each of the subjects of the biographies, reinforcing Smith and Watson's idea that "the importance of affirming an American identity drives many life writings" (104). Even if the subject is not American, this effort to be different and to show oneself (or the subject) as having integrity is a highly rationalized and transparent process. Going along with this theme is the idea that the subject's success is not easily achieved. All of the subjects in

the texts I sampled cite difficulties and trials, either failing or learning invaluable lessons. Subsequently, hard work is also very important. Also universally present is the theme that work must be fun.

Lastly, business biographies inherently position their narratives as “master narratives,” even if they bluntly aver that their lives should not be followed as examples. Smith and Watson state, “such labeling of what is—or is not—representative is part of the cultural project of ‘naming, controlling, remembering and understanding’ that sustains the patriarchal, and imperial, power to produce ‘knowledge’ about the world” (116). The master narratives in business biographies are accepted as authoritative, since only one interested in the subject’s path to success would read such a work. Further, if one is interested, the reader’s emulation of the subject is inferred.

By considering what the audience gains from their text, the business biographer’s motives become evident. Through this lens, all eight subjects answered three questions: *why*, *how* and *where*, in either one way or another. This allowed me to group the narratives into templates, resulting in six sub-genres of business biographies.

The first two subgenres are the *why*, or primary motive for writing: the *personality placement product* or *rationalizing success*. These subgenres speak to the impetus for writing such a work. I paid particular attention to these first subgenres because the writers focused most of their time “selling their story” in this way and place great emphasis on *why* one should read the piece. Second, I noticed the *where* of the narrators, or the places in which their business selves originated. These origins are edited down to those incidents that support the purposes of the narratives. In his article, “Making, Taking, and Faking Lives: The Ethics of Collaborative Life Writing,” G. Thomas Couser discusses editing in terms of justice, noting that a spectrum exists ranging from supporting “the subject’s best interests” to “harm done by any misrepresentation” (338). The topics arrayed along this spectrum are discussed in the *destined to succeed* or *destined to fail* subgenres. I also noticed the *how* of defining particular business approaches. This is comprised of the *gut/ heart/ intuition* or *caution* subgenres. The last subgenres include works that describe how money self-motivates: *money for the greater good* or *money for money’s sake*.

Table 1: Authors and the Teachings

	WHY		WHERE		HOW		END RESULT	
	Personality Product Placement	Rationalization	Destined to Succeed	Destined to Fail	Gut/ Heart/ Intuition	Caution	Money for Greater Good	Money for Money’s Sake
Horatio Alger	x			x	x		x	
Benjamin Franklin		X	x		x		x	
Ben & Jerry’s		X		x	x		x	
Richard Branson	x			x	x		x	
Warren Buffett	x		x			x		x
Gary Erickson		X		x	x		x	
Steve Jobs		X		x	x			x
Trader Joe’s	x		x			x	x	
Donald Trump	x		x		x			x
Sam Walton	x		x		x			x



## 2.0. THE PERSONALITY PRODUCT PLACEMENT TOOL

By creating a publicity tool, the subject of the biography is able to mediate or propagate a media worthy personality. Flowing into this subgenre gracefully is Len Lewis' constant focus on the bright side of Trader Joe's' business. The supermarket chain, Trader Joe's, was started by Joe Coulombe in 1967 and was prompted by the idea that people wanted better groceries. In 1978, Aldi, a European mega grocer, bought out Coulombe and applied its principles to Trader Joe's, bringing lower-cost, high-quality products to its customers.

Lewis glorifies Aldi's mantra; "cheap is beautiful, stinginess is cool, and Aldi is cult...a place for treasure-hunting customers where chauffeur-driven limousines vie for space with more pedestrian vehicles" (27). Trader Joe's' commitment to employee satisfaction is also emphasized—high pay, great benefits, and the request that all new employees are asked: "at the end of 30 days, if you're not having fun, please quit" (13). Lewis goes on to relate how happy employees make happy customers and lauds Trader Joe's' marketing, calling it "retail anthropology," where "not just understanding customers' behavior but also what makes them tick" is of utmost importance (80).

Lewis congratulates customers who are "in the know" and reinforces their special relationship with the retailer. The retailer's approach is a wink at the customer, and the customer's purchase of the book reciprocates such intimacy. The obvious question of cooperation arises. How much money did Trader Joe's give to the authors? How many books did they order for Christmas to send to their frequent customers? Lewis states in his acknowledgements, "and to a dozen other people (you know who you are) who prefer anonymity;" a sentence that speaks volumes about this no-flaws approach to the subject (199).

Similarly, Donald Trump's personality placement product should be construed as what Smith and Watson term collaborative life narrative (191). His biography begins, "I don't do it for the money. I've got enough, much more than I'll ever need. I do it to do it. Deals are my art form...I like making deals. Preferably big deals. That's how I get my kicks" (1). Trump's language and tone are part of his persona, used to sell an image to the public.

As Trump's collaborator, Tony Schwartz's role is accentuated. Couser comments, "Autobiographical collaborations are rather like marriages and other domestic partnerships: partners enter into a relationship of some duration, they 'make life' together, and they produce an offspring that will derive traits from each of them"(336). The lens of the collaborator is especially interesting since in 1996, Schwartz wrote *What Really Matters: Searching for Wisdom in America*. The dust jacket states Schwartz "discovered the best teachers and techniques for inner development--and identified the potential pitfalls and false gurus he met along the way." Schwartz went on a four-year soul-searching quest after his work with Trump, reportedly feeling depressed and confused. Schwartz's experience prompts the follow up: is Trump a 'false guru?' How much of what Couser calls celebrity autobiography was present—where the subject is all-powerful and "can presumably have her pick of partners" (338)? How did this power struggle play into the process? Did Schwartz want to include parts of Trump's private persona? Did blackmailing occur? Ultimately, is Trump's true persona much worse—bad enough to send someone on a four-year soul searching expedition?

Likewise, Sam Walton's collaborative biography launched him into celebrity status and popularized Wal-Mart's secrets, legitimizing their monopolistic success. Largely regarded as a retail giant without a heart, Walton disputes Wal-Mart's reputation: "Wal-Mart has actually kept quite a number of small towns from becoming practically extinct by offering low prices and saving literally billions of dollars for the people who live there, as well as by creating hundreds of thousands of jobs in our stores" (177). Yet, this idea (which is a rationalization) is mentioned only on one page. The bulk of the story sells Walton as a small town guy with hometown values.

Walton started his first retail businesses in small American towns. He is portrayed as unpretentious, down-to-earth and neighborly, reinforcing that by association, Wal-Mart is these things, too. The idea that Sam is just a regular guy who values humility and hard work comes through clearly: "I just don't believe a big showy lifestyle is appropriate for anywhere, least of all here in Bentonville where folks work hard for their money and where we all know that everyone puts on their trousers one leg at a time" (8). As a discount retailer focusing intently on the bottom line, Wal-Mart needs to show it has the same values as their customers in order

to retain their market-share and remain successful. Sam Walton's collaborative autobiography, written with John Huey, uses an "I" point of view. It starts:

*Forbes* magazine named me the so-called 'richest man in America'...The next thing we knew, reporters and photographers started flocking down here to see Bentonville, I guess to take pictures of me diving into some swimming pool full of money they imagined I had, or to watch me light big fat cigars with \$100 bills while the hootchy-kootchy girls danced by the lake (1).

By dismissing those interested in his money, Walton retains his humility and reinforces the idea that money hasn't changed him. His billions have not made him conceited.

Like Trump, Walton's language denotes personality in a geographically specific colloquial manner. As with Schwartz, an allusion is made that Huey wrote down exactly everything Walton said, in real time. Hermeneutically dependent, Huey and Schwartz become intimately woven into Walton's and Trump's personae, creating tension through the amounts which they projected themselves onto their subjects. Further, tone and language are collaboratively created to affect the desired public personality outcome.

Couser notes that "collaborative autobiography is inherently ventriloquistic ... attributing to the subject a voice and narrative not originating with him or her—and that he or she may not have edited" (342). Couser cites a case where a writer edits out a subject's speech impediment in his article, reversely proving this point. Kaplan distorts Sienkiewicz-Mercer's cerebral palsy and "erases the disability that has so profoundly shaped its subject's life" since Sienkiewicz's language is "hypernormalized" (338). Further, Couser states that there are ethical considerations that must be weighed in the collaborative autobiography, since the subject is given more credit for the piece and the idea that "cheating, if done surreptitiously... is apparently acceptable when done openly" (342-344).

Notably, the fictitious character is usually created, not the biography of a real person. This idea of openly cheating is crystallized when seen through the lens of advertising, wherein the subject makes claims to support a public product. Truth or falsity creates a caveat emptor, or buyer beware disclaimer, whereupon the reader is responsible for fact checking and either accepting or rejecting the subject's report. Yet, through twisting mistakes and turning them into assets, the subject is able to demonstrate his qualifications and garner faith in his abilities. By admitting one's flaws, the reader/buyer is manipulated, since the rest of the story is less scrutinized after such an admission. This diversion deflects attention from the actual person, generates trust, and eases the rest of the telling.

Couser notes that Rosemary J. Coombe "has argued that celebrity identity is authored collaboratively and collectively, rather than individually. Nevertheless, in the marketplace, the celebrity has the advantage of licensing his/her own replication" (346). This presumes the celebrity is either reinforcing a publicly desired persona or creating a directed publicity tool, begging the question of—which came first: the individual (celebrity) or the image (persona)?

Further complicating this dilemma is Richard Branson's autobiography and his version of the truth. He talks about creating *Student*, a newspaper he started in high school, which is ultimately his credential for writing the book. The reader relies completely on Branson's memory throughout the course of his biography. It is likely others who were present have completely different versions and conclusions. Couser states, "autobiographers, interestingly, are generally not viewed as obliged to research their own lives; the presumed subjectivity of the genre gains them a degree of latitude" (340). Furthermore, Branson starts with a dramatic goodbye letter to his family as he departs upon an extremely risky hot air balloon trip. The first portion of the book is a diary excerpt from this flight. Branson also references many interviews and talks extensively about correcting misinformed journalists. Because of his celebrity status, the main sources for the work were likely transcriptions, pointing to Branson editing and interpreting, rather than writing his autobiography alone.

Smith and Watson note, "Sometimes narrators explicitly resist certain identities. Sometimes they obsessively work to conform their self-representation to particular identity frames" (35). As an adventurous thrill seeker, Branson's approach to life is now or never. In this way, he appeals to individuals, encouraging them to live similarly. This also translates into the Virgin brand perception of unique, innovative products, even

though they are selling popular music (Janet Jackson, Phil Collins, The Rolling Stones) and the golden days of air travel. Branson is a rock star. Rock stars buy and fly Virgin. The persona he projects is that anyone can be a rock star, as long as one remains an individual. Yet, by adhering to the Virgin brand, consumers of this lifestyle are following an example and acting like sheep rather than retaining their individuality. Additionally, Branson's creations exist because he insists they exist. He edits, fusing together collective memory, keeping what he agrees with and discarding the rest.

### 2.1. Rationalizing Success

Smith and Watson state, "the memoir directs attention more toward the lives and actions of others than to the narrator" (198). Using this form, Gary Erickson, founder of the Clif Bar Company, follows this trend. His memoir starts with the day he walked away from \$120,000,000 by not selling his company and explores the ramifications of having to pay his partner \$60,000,000.

Over the course of his journey backwards, Erickson recalls the creation of the partnership. Much of the book is about his regret over this decision, recalling at length the process of re-organizing the business alone. Without this development, it is questionable whether he would have ever thought so extensively about his business practices, nor written a book. Unlike the "Enrons of the world," Erikson committed to his core values of environmentalism, corporate responsibility and retaining sole ownership of his company (156). He discusses his employees in terms of their rest and recovery needs rather than productivity. By rationalizing his success, he becomes the good guy in a corporate (read "bad") world. Lastly, many of the chapters begin with a question, as if the author used a writing guide to create his story. This impels us to ask, how much of the story was prompted and how genuine are his responses? Erikson doesn't cite sources. Could he be accused of plagiarism?

The Ben & Jerry story also follows this approach. Told by the company's chief financial officer, Fred "Chico" Lager, it is clear that the road to success was not easy: "Ben was a taskmaster and a perfectionist who held everyone to incredibly high standards. He rarely passed out praise and was always focused on what was wrong or had fallen through the cracks" (150).

Though for the most part, the memoir presents a positive picture of the company, Lager is clearly frustrated by Ben's stubbornness and absent owner mentality. Ben does not support Fred and often changes his mind just before a project launch: "Ben and I were actually standing in his office, watching a steamroller put down the finish coat of asphalt in the parking lot behind the plant when we realized that within a month we'd be ripping it up. 'Do you think we should stop him?' Ben asked" (123).

Fred is tasked with running the business since Jerry sells his share of the company to follow a girl. Hence, the correct name for the brand should be Ben & Fred's. Fred is the public relations representative when Ben replies to a reporter "I got no idea" when asked about the company's capital spending over the next five years. Fred says, "I got a chance to edit Ben's comments before they were printed and made him sound up to snuff on the financials" (125).

Fred's is much like a survivor narrative (Smith & Watson, 205), where he acts as a buffer between Ben and the rest of the world. He uses the book to explain his belief in the product, his reasons for staying (even though he is abused) and his usefulness as Ben's opposite. Fred focuses on his long-time friendship with Ben, telling him, "When you go, I go" (203). Yet, faced with Ben's absenteeism, Fred's expectation that Ben will eventually sell the company compels him to stay. Does the end justify the years of aggravation and abuse? Fred rationalizes his actions and believes that all was not for naught.

Despite being a jerk with poor people skills, an unwilling CEO, and a control freak, Steve Jobs' coolness, passion and innovation make up for the bad. Couser says unauthorized "biographies do not have to be as flattering [as collaborative autobiographies]" (340). Jobs' unauthorized biographer, Leander Kahney, is managing editor at Wired Magazine, author of *The Cult of I-Pod* and *The Cult of Mac*, and is best known for *The Cult of Mac* blogs. Kahney has built his career on analyzing Apple and its founders. Through this lens, his readers expect him to have a critical assessment of Jobs' personality: "Steve Jobs has a reputation as the boss from hell, a terror-inspiring taskmaster who's forever screaming at workers and randomly firing hapless underlings" (107). Kahney calls Jobs a "sociopath" (171) and gives accounts of employee public humiliation

(166). With Freudian matter-of-factness, Kahney explains that Jobs' fear and paranoia are the reasons for his aloofness (169). At Apple, getting "Steved" means being fired on the spot (33).

Although Kahney is very critical of Jobs, he is also very complimentary. He claims Steve Wozniak would be nothing without Jobs' marketing genius, lauds Pixar's managerial success and celebrates Jobs' passion for design. In considering the reasons for Kahney's Jekyll and Hyde approach (which, by the way, he projects on-to Jobs on page 167), his insults and focus on Jobs' laws create an impression of a "balanced" approach to the subject.

Jobs believes he can change the world, "I want to put a ding in the universe" (150). Kahney rationalizes, "In everything Jobs does, there's a sense of mission. And like any true believer, he's passionate about his work. Yes, his commitment produces a lot of screaming and shouting....Jobs's secret: it's OK to be an asshole as long as you're passionate about it" (151).

## 2.2. Destined to Succeed

Franklin and Alger encountered serendipity, and success was somewhat out of their hands. This subgenre seems teleologically to create reasons for success based on heredity or inherent characteristics of one's personality. This subgenre describes the biographies of Sam Walton, Trader Joe's, Warren Buffett and Donald Trump. To avoid repetition, examples are given for the later two.

Buffett's biographer has apparent admiration for his subject: "Let Europe have its princes; the American ideal has always been a self-made man from the mid country—a Lincoln, a Twain, a Will Rogers. In an age without heroes, this, too, is what Buffett's disciples were seeking in Omaha" (xvi). The authoritative tone reveals the author's desire to make history by putting Buffett in league with great American icons. Susan Egan notes this idea of "history in the making": "if American myths of self-realization emerge powerfully in the life narratives of this century, most are also conflicted and unresolved" (Smith & Watson 104). The conflicted and unresolved subject continues his quest for more success, driven by incompleteness. Buffett's wealth accumulation is impressive, but is not enough. He continues to work, passionately chasing greater levels of success. Additionally, the desire to create a legacy strikes the reader as premature, since Buffett is still alive. In fact, the media is calling into question the entire fairytale account, as Berkshire Hathaway has not been spared from the current recession.

Regardless, Buffett has a natural propensity for making money and an inherited right to stock brokerage: "His first possession was a nickel coated money changer," and "at an age when few children knew what a business was, Warren would get rolls of ticker tape from his stockbroker father, set them on the floor, and decipher the ticker symbols" (4). He invested in his first stock when he was 11 and his favorite pastime was dreaming up moneymaking schemes. In 1947, by the age of 17, he had delivered 600,000 newspapers and made an impressive \$5,000.

Trump also demonstrates a propensity for earning wealth and a professional inheritance. His father developed and owned multifamily buildings in Brooklyn. At a young age, Donald learned to negotiate by accompanying his father to work sites. The boy collected bottles to illustrate his inherent industriousness. In the second grade, he gave his music teacher a black eye and in military school, he learned to "channel aggression into achievement" (73). He makes the distinction: "Most people who have the instincts [to be an entrepreneur] will never recognize that they do, because they don't have the courage or the good fortune to discover their potential...I like thinking big. I always have. To me it's very simple: if you're going to be thinking anyway...think big" (46).

He discounts his father's position as the biggest landlord in Brooklyn. He believes his success stems from being an overconfident leader. In fact, one of his critics says of Trump: "Trump has a great line of shit, but where are the bricks and mortar?" I remember being outraged when I heard that...but looking back, I can see he was right. It could have all gone up in smoke" (107). Through this complication, Trump will not allow destiny to be the sole reason for his success. He is the reason. His perseverance and tenacity are what help him succeed, and his mistakes are part of his pre-destiny.

### 2.3. Destined to Fail

Conversely, there are those who cite their failures and shortcomings as reasons why they *shouldn't* be successful, but are anyway. This category holds the remainder of the sample of biographies I read: Steve Jobs, Gary Erickson of Clif Bar, Ben & Jerry's and Richard Branson. Most notable are the later two.

Richard Branson's beginnings were meager. He was poor, dyslexic and nearsighted. He wet his bed, and was subjected to corporal punishment in boarding school. Though he was a promising athlete in football, a leg injury stopped him from playing. His often-visited dean tells him, "Congratulations, Branson. I predict that you will either go to prison or become a millionaire." After a stint in prison he says, "I vowed to myself that I would never again do anything that would cause me to be imprisoned, or indeed do any kind of business deal that would embarrass me" (73).

Yet, he isn't concerned with traditional success; "I certainly didn't regard myself as a businessman. Businessmen were middle-aged men in the city who...were obsessed with making money" (43). He is also "unable to cope with" firing people, calling into question his leadership skills (55). Like Trump, Branson's tenets for business (integrity, diligence and confidence) are the reasons he is successful, despite being destined to fail.

Likewise, Ben & Jerry were fired often. They weren't interested in school, were horrible at sports, and "didn't have a great deal of confidence" (2). As hippies who rebelled against authority, and were skeptical about business (55), they also seem destined to fail. When they decided to go into business together, they both committed to contributing a \$4,000 investment. However, they irresponsibly spent \$2,000 on a sailboat, even though "neither had sailed before" (13). Despite their destiny to fail, their hard work prevailed. Ben and Fred "Chico" Lager "stopped going home and were sleeping on the floor in the office or catching naps right in the production room" (122).

### 2.4. Gut/Heart/Intuition-Based

The next two subgenres speak to the subject's motivation for success. By betting on their products, they use their intuition to know what will work. Ben & Jerry's, Gary Erickson, Branson, and Walton's, Steve Jobs and Donald Trump fit into this subgenre. Examples of the last two are offered here.

It would seem that Steve Jobs errs on the side of caution. Yet, when he picks a product to back, he markets it in a secretive manner, lending an air of mystique to the product itself. This is very risky because consumers are being told what to want, rather than being asked. Jobs' business practices resonate with Henry Ford's, who famously said, "If we had asked people what they wanted, they would have said, *a faster horse*."

Apple relies heavily on prototyping and Steve Jobs demands that employees are experts at what they do so he can rely on their advice. Ultimately, product picking falls completely on Jobs' shoulders. He knows which ideas will work and knows intuitively how to successfully market the products he picks.

Likewise, Trump says, "Listen to your gut, no matter how good something sounds on paper" (29) and Erickson: "You have to trust your gut" (121).

### 2.5. Caution

On the other side of the fence, the biographers of Buffett and Trader Joe's employ expressly cautious *modus operandi*: "From the start, Warren was cautious beyond his years. When he learned to walk, it was with his knees bent, as if ensuring that he wouldn't have far to fall" (8). Buffett only trusts numbers and is too logical to be religious: "such un-tempered logic can only lead to one terrifying fear—the fear of dying. And Warren was stricken with it" (13).

Logically, it would seem that he uses money as his legacy, but he is stingy with his children: "He was so wary of spoiling his likable kids with 'food stamps'...when the Graham group debated what was the 'right amount' to leave one's children, Buffett said a few hundred thousand ought to do it" (335). The seeming contradiction that "where money was involved he was impersonal and at arm's length, as though his kids were merely junior financial partners" is reinforced by multiple examples (335). Buffett fears his children will have

poor work ethic and he believes that to have a fulfilled life, one must work hard. Stinginess, therefore, further illustrates his cautious nature.

Likewise, Trader Joe's administrators have a very measured approach to merchandising. They rely heavily on a regimented market testing system before investing in any product. There are multiple stages involved in adding a new product to their stores and all include heavy customer feedback.

## 2.6. Money for the Greater Good

After working hard, the 'end result' is a weighty factor in continuing business and citing success. What a company or individual does with money motivates and reinforces their efforts. Trader Joe's, Gary Erickson, Richard Branson and Ben & Jerry's all place in this category. Here, I offer examples of the latter two.

For Ben & Jerry's, the motivating factor for their business is encapsulated in their mission statement: "Business has a responsibility to give back to the community from which it draws support" (36). A crucial moment for Ben comes when he verifies his business practices are "consistent with his personal values, even if they didn't conform with the traditional notions of how a business should be run" (57). Because of their perceived responsibility, Ben & Jerry's initiates multiple social programs. They donate one percent of their pre-tax profits to charities. They fund a partnership where profits go to drug counseling. Without rationalizing his success, it is unlikely Ben would have continued doing business.

Likewise, Richard Branson's motivation is defined as follows: "I can honestly say that I have never gone into any business purely to make money. If that is the sole motive, then I believe you are better off not doing it. A business has to be involving, it has to be fun, and it has to exercise your creative instincts" (43). Personal fulfillment is more important than monetary gains. In 1990, he flew into Baghdad and rescued hostages. When he returned, he spoke about being: "--at an all-time low. I'd seemed to have run out of a purpose in my life...I was seeking a new challenge...to have time to try to use my business skills to tackle issues that I felt I could help, such as attacking the cigarette companies, cervical cancer, etc" (231). This sense of social responsibility allows him to continue in business.

## 2.7. Money for Money's Sake

Conversely, Trump does not cite specific philanthropic motivations for his business practices. In fact, he says he spent the first twenty years of his career "building, accumulating, and accomplishing things that many said could not be done" (367). Though he acknowledges the need to give money, he says, "Giving time is far more valuable than giving just money" (336). His self-described motivation for working is to "Have fun. I don't kid myself...Money was never a big motivation for me, except as a way to keep score. The real excitement is playing the game" (Trump 63). Trump talks about wanting to "figure out some creative ways to give back some of what [he's] gotten" (367). It is possible he would argue that his television show, *The Apprentice*, is a philanthropic effort wherein he gives time, rather than just writing a check.

Similarly, Buffett is "fair but not overly generous" (255) and lives in the same house he bought for \$31,500 in 1958. He does his own taxes, drives his own car, and lives well beneath his means. He is a famously frumpy dresser, and his biographer asserts that he uses money as a way of living longer.

Yet, he has trouble picking his own social causes and sees philanthropy as a kind of unearned charity. In 2006, he donated ten million Berkshire Hathaway stocks, or \$31 billion, to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. This money was only donated under the conditions that the money not be taxed, either Gates must be alive, and the full amount must be spent over ten years ([gatesfoundation.org](http://gatesfoundation.org)). Buffett is on the foundation committee and helps direct the charitable funds, emphasizing his desire to control the flow of money. This echoes back to Buffett's father's words, "you are not required to carry the whole burden, nor are you permitted to put down your share" (11). This also hearkens back to the way he treats his children and reinforces the theme that sloth is a cardinal sin.

Believing that industriousness is a virtue and money is for accumulating rather than philanthropy, Sam Walton says "no one owes anybody else a living" (184). His brother Bud says of him "When a penny is lying out there on the street, how many people would go out there and pick it up? I'll bet I would. And I know Sam would" (5). A colleague says of Walton says:

Money is, in some respect, almost immaterial to him. What motivates [Sam] is the desire to be on top of the heap. It's not the money. Money drives him crazy now. His question to me at 6 A.M. not long ago was "How do you inspire a grandchild to go to work if they know they'll never have a poor day in their life? (9)

The reason for Walton's book is to warn his grandchildren—if they ever start being frivolous with money, he'll haunt them. Money is the fruit of hard work. Money without work equals laziness, revealing that accomplishment lies in the journey toward accumulation. Though he gives back to his employees, I have never heard of anyone getting rich by working at Wal-Mart. In fact, its philanthropy is famously performed for its public image rather than for the greater good.

### 3.0. SUMMARY

These methods for arriving at success are based on the subject's projected image and deeply depend on the type of business one is engaged in. For example, Warren Buffett inspires trust from investors predominantly because he came from nothing and knows the value of a dollar (personality product placement). He has always been interested in the stock market and making money, and his father was a stockbroker (destined to succeed). He is level headed and trustworthy with his investments (cautious), but his caution reveals his belief that wealth accumulation (money for money's sake) will fend off death. Similarly, each biography emphasizes different things, depending on audience and is edited with the reader/buyer in mind.

Through their business success, each of the subjects arrived at a persona for their own motivation and for their clients' and colleagues' consumption. These hybrids of the subgenres are determined by circumstance and ambition. They seem to change after plateaus of success are reached, perhaps even echoing farther back, the more successful they become. Like most of life writing, business biographies change over time and are edited depending on one's future goals. Likewise, the juxtaposition between the 'end justifying the means' and 'doing unto others' melds into a thematic device whereby the subject is able to recount their path to success.

To suggest that these biographical accounts are exterior to the individual—a mask they wear at work—would be to take the separation too far. By embracing the things that support the image they'd like to portray, what is left out is intentional and schematic. If anything, this study demonstrates that the personal is definitely part of business since narration is a tool providing a necessary and dynamic ingredient to chasing, having and reflecting upon success.

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# TESTIMONIES FROM THE MEN IN THE MIDDLE: OPSEC AS AUTO/BIOGRAPHICAL EDITOR IN IRAQ

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## ABSTRACT

I conducted two oral history interviews with Iraqi men employed as U.S. military interpreters in Baghdad. My interviewees are involved in the military's data collection and assessment system, and cross the lines between the local culture and the U.S. military institutions daily. Drawing on Paul John Eakin's discussion of life-narration as identity content, I argue that OPSEC regulations over narration, the internalization of these regulations, and the dangers unique to the interpreters' position with the military, profoundly affect the production of interpreters' life narratives, and therefore interpreters' identities, in Iraq.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the U.S. invasion of Iraq, the U.S. military encountered many "nameless" Iraqi roads. The commanders' solution was to let the men on the ground bestow nicknames on the roads, which were to be used in operational maps. The soldiers set to work. Roads were named after continental states—ASR Michigan or Route Iowa--Ultimate Fighting Championship fighters, U.S. national football teams, brands of beer, models of cars, and—in some marine sectors—popular super heroes. The new names not only stuck within the military's navigational systems, but also began to enter the local language. As a result, Command later banned the practice of naming; claiming insurgents could use the names to plan destruction. Nevertheless, many roads still needed christening—so the military named them "no name"—a labeling that still defined the roads. Today "no name" roads intertwine with the named in all directions throughout Iraq.

Service members and their Iraqi interpreters travel these "no names" daily. They must not define the roads, though they still have to travel them, and the roads continue to appear prominently in their daily narratives. Similarly, the men navigate their ways around the critical information of their deployments when they adhere to the restrictions of the wide-ranging censorship process known as Operations Security, or OPSEC. "You usually know what someone's talking about when they refer to a no name road," one combatant explains: "You can know their exact location if you've paid close enough attention." He is referring to how memory reconstructs meaning when the situation warrants it and is describing a similar strategy of reconstruction that enables service members to navigate the named and "no name" information when narrating their deployment.

## 2.0. OPSEC IN IRAQ

What kinds of selves do we create when we tell our stories, and what happens to both life stories and lives when the individuals are within environments that control their daily narration? Life stories in such controlled environments are the subject of this paper. During the current military deployments in Iraq, new communication technologies have enabled service members to communicate more regularly and intimately with their loved ones. In response, the military has heightened its surveillance of such communication through the self-censorship program: OPSEC. For my larger project, I collected oral histories from both U.S. service men and Iraqi interpreters deployed in Iraq. However, for this paper I am focusing on the Iraqi interpreters, men who are also working under OPSEC's regulatory processes and in the vital center of the military's data collection and assessment system in Operation Iraqi Freedom.

Drawing on Paul John Eakin's discussion of life-narration as identity content, I argue that OPSEC regulations over narration, the internalization of these regulations, and the dangers unique to the interpreters' position with the military, profoundly affect the production of interpreters' life narratives, and therefore interpreter's identities, in Iraq.

Life writing scholarship offers insights for understanding these effects. Eakin argues that narration is not a means of forming identity, but identity itself, claiming identity, or "self—the self of autobiographical discourse—does not necessarily precede its constitution in narrative" (100). The interpreters' identities manifested as they narrated their experiences in the oral histories. They conveyed that while working with the

U.S. army, their work, which consists of translating testimonies from the Iraqi people for the commanders outside the wire<sup>1</sup>, is filtered through OPSEC processes. Also in keeping with their location in the deployment "theater," the interpreters must consciously create and perform entirely constructed second lives for their acquaintances from their home neighborhoods, taking the challenges of daily self-narration under OPSEC to new, heightened levels. As one interpreter explained, interpreters are traitors; everyone—Sunnis, Shias, Christians—agrees that translators are a prime target: "so many different parties in Iraq, they look to different people to hate, but they all look to the same enemy and he's me." The interpreters must therefore present fictional life narratives convincingly, or they may cease to have any narrative at all. Their life narration becomes a matter of life and death.

Before addressing these critical narratives in the oral histories, I will first explain the Operations Security Process and why it manipulates daily narration. OPSEC's steps are as follows: first, service members identify critical information. Then they analyze the threats and vulnerabilities involved, assess the risk, and finally apply the OPSEC measures (Dept. of Army 33). Critical information can be found within both classified and unclassified information exchange; examples of unclassified information exchanges are email, phone, and face-to-face conversations, personal web pages, and blogs. The OPSEC rulebook states that "unclassified critical information especially requires OPSEC measures because it is not protected by the requirements provided to classified information" (33). OPSEC's criterion for defining and identifying critical information, or step one, encompasses almost every aspect of service members' and interpreters' lives in both physical and cyber spaces. OPSEC advocates boast that its regulations become so ingrained they are lived; as their website makes clear, "OPSEC is a mindset. It becomes second nature" (OPSEC). The men internalize the restrictions.

So, what do interpreter narratives under OPSEC sound like? During the interviews, the men conveyed their external and internal censors when telling their stories: external, as in conscious, admitted self-censoring; internal, as in self-censorship not acknowledged to the listener. The interviews suggest that personal communication between the men and their loved ones becomes the point where OPSEC negotiations are foregrounded. Oral history itself provides a crucial, though not identical, space for observing and discussing OPSEC's manipulation within this crucial group in Iraq.

The added weight of caution and responsibility affects the tone of these oral histories, and their internalization of OPSEC, in terms of what is disclosed, is dramatic. The interpreters described their difficulties of moving back and forth between these lives, at times focusing specifically on their narrative strategies. Just as the service members rely on memory to decipher and reconstruct the no name roads in their minds, the interpreters use names, places, and characters of their past to construct this present alter ego. In addition to allowing OPSEC to shape their life narratives, the interpreters are also conscious of constructing their "cover" lives at every moment. Each day, the truth of their personal and professional lives must remain hidden, but to function, their constructed personal narratives necessary for their profession are not only discussed, but emphasized, to ensure coherence with the narratives of their families. As a result, the false life is often their main agenda when speaking with their families. When with service members, the interpreters hide their identities beneath their professional pseudonyms, and when speaking with friends and families, their false, "cover," lives must be sustained every minute.

### 3.0. THE ORAL HISTORIES

In my discussion of the interpreters, whom I will call Alan and Mark, I examine their narrative strategies both under OPSEC, and in their roles as coalition force interpreters. Alan described the dangers of his situation as an interpreter. People in his community would say he's "the devil" if they knew he worked for the coalition forces. With regard to "Alan," he said, "that's my name," but quickly added, "it's a nickname." Though the men in his platoon know his real name, they always use "Alan" to protect his personal security, knowing that when people hear "Alan," they will assume "he's American, not Arabic."

When I asked Mark, an older, more reserved man, if he liked translating critical questions, Iraqi statements and military propaganda from the army to the local nationals, he replied, "Nope." After a long pause, he then said that he hates both his U.S. military job and his Iraq job, because he doesn't "get to lead a normal life like the other people." Mark discussed the dangers resulting from his position with the U.S. military. He claimed he has "a different self in Baghdad and a different one here," which is "still confusing" to him. I asked

him how it felt to move back and forth between the US army and his neighborhood life, and he replied, "Actually, it's really hard, I do a lot of lie." He thinks he has "two lives." When he is on the military bases, he tries "to forget anything about my home—it's really dangerous, working for the coalition forces; you will be kidnapped, or killed." When he is in his neighborhood, he conceals the fact that he works with the coalition forces. He has been using his grandfather's house as his "other" place of refuge, "to confuse," though he did not specify whom he was confusing. He claims he now also uses "another place" as his alibi. However, he "can't hide for a long time," and has to change his story frequently, because many friends inquire about his whereabouts. According to him, it's "really not easy."

Alan does not share much information about his military life when talking with his parents because he is "not allowed to talk about it," and he doesn't "like to talk about it." OPSEC shapes his conversations. He doesn't "want to get in trouble." The fact that there are really no set OPSEC rules makes him all the more afraid. When he is alone, without his lieutenant or sergeant, he "just hopes for nobody listening." Only Alan's parents and a *real* friend—more than a brother, a friend who "would get killed" for him—know his actual occupation. But Alan must maintain ties with his extended family and friends, because he visits the neighborhood every few weeks while on leave. Therefore, he constructed an elaborate back-story, beginning with a pseudo occupation. His friend and parents tell relatives and friends that he works for his family's power generator business in a residential area where his family used to live, running a generator located near his grandfather's old house. Because it is the family job, he "can't leave it." On his leave days he tells his family and friends "different stories"—it's a "lie," but the "story's complete"; it's "perfect." He tells people the different ways he "has fun" with his cousins and former friends: "invisible friends from the neighborhood is what I'm trying to say." Frequently, he is actually telling funny stories about his platoon, but only after switching the characters from soldiers to old neighborhood friends. He goes through this trouble of translation because he "just wants to tell it to somebody because it's funny." Alan claimed he never had trouble keeping track of his back-story. He remembers the names well—children's names from his childhood. In addition, the stories are true, but "happened like something from a long time." When he wants "to cover" himself, he chooses "like a terrorist story."

Alan often thinks his American commanders view his translating job as insignificant. "The people controlling" the interpreters make him "feel like it's not important for no one." In response to my question over his thoughts about the significance of his job, he asked me if I had "ever asked for something without a mouth?" Clearly, "nobody can go outside without an interpreter." Because individuals outside the wire may recognize his face and voice, he wears a mask "if I can all the time" during patrols. But "orders came from the generals," saying that an image of "trust" is crucial for success in handing the country back to the Iraqi army, government, and people, and masks suggest distrust; therefore, the "charade" cannot involve them. Alan agreed that an interpreter saying "I trust you, but you can't see my face" does affect his chances for success, but thought the new rule was "very stupid," since "the interpreter is the most wanted man in Iraq."

Mark used to wear a mask to conceal his identity because if anyone recognized and identified him, they would kill him, adding "so we try to hide ourselves." His tone then filled with disdain, as he suddenly added that he doesn't "care anymore," so he doesn't "wear a mask at all." I asked if he thought he was no longer in danger. He said, "Oh I'm still in danger; I just don't care about my life anymore." Mark explained again "it's not a normal life" and in both of his jobs he "can't feel like [he's] personal, or something." This strain heightens around military personnel. When asked if there were positive aspects of his military life, after a long pause, he replied, "Actually nothing," and then added, "I'm just being honest." Mark said the officers and soldiers he works with are "young and selfish" adding that "they ignore people; they ignore everyone." He sees many differences between himself and the U.S. service members, suggesting that perhaps it's a "different culture or something." Mark wants to be "outside" Iraq, either in the U.S. or Canada, when the U.S. military officially leaves. His ultimate goal is to "actually get a normal job, a normal life—quiet and some peace." He added that he wants "to feel human."

All the men in Operation Iraqi Freedom have much at stake. Just as they navigate named and "no name" roads, they also negotiate a web formed of conflicting commands, insufficient data collection, translation, surveillance, and censorship. When Command mishandles Iraqi testimonies, interpreters' lives are at risk, yet because Command cannot, as one service member stated, put their "experiences on a PowerPoint slide," Command often fails to recognize the danger. The interpreters are suspended within a system in which

their life stories are crucial to the system's success, yet the system often proves unable to hear these stories. They also must construct life narratives—working through creative and manipulative processes each day. Unlike the service members, the translators do not have the “luxury” of internalizing these OPSEC methods.

#### 4.0. CONCLUSION

I have found that the oral history process records the shaping of selves and lives within systems that, among other things, transform the individuals into strategic pawns. OPSEC polices all information that is not obviously in need of protection. By definition, these men in the system cannot speak of anything that falls outside the realm of OPSEC surveillance, but they have to continue speaking, and if we take Eakin's claims seriously, this speech is a personal and social necessity.

Crossing the lines between the local culture and the U.S. military institutions daily, these interpreters' narratives emerge from the center point of the Iraq war. By collecting such oral history life narratives, and then reading them critically together, life writing theorists and cultural historians can not only begin to understand how such lives are produced, organized, and read within the military, but also how the surveillance and self-censorship program known as Operations Security is one aspect of Operation Iraqi Freedom that, to a degree, writes these stories.

#### NOTES

1. “Outside the wire” is a U.S. military phrase that refers to the combat environments surrounding the military bases in Iraq and Afghanistan.

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## A SILENCING SPACE: THE CHALLENGES OF ARTICULATING MALAYSIA IN ENGLISH

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In a September 2008 interview with *The Jakarta Post*, prominent Malaysian artist and poet Bernice Chauly reveals that despite toying with ideas of relocating from Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, to Bali, Indonesia, she will remain in her home country even as many fellow Malaysian artists were leaving to escape state censorship, political uncertainty, and the threat of racialized violence. In choosing to stay, however, Chauly had to adapt the expression of her creativity in order to continue articulating herself. The most notable adaptation was her conscious decision to write poetry in English instead of the national language, Malay. Chauly, born in Malaysia to a Punjabi father and Chinese mother, has no ethnic affiliation to either language. Her situation and choice, however, are not unusual. In examining Chauly's autobiographical narratives as part of my research on Malaysian minorities writing in English, I came to recognize a growing, multi-ethnic community of Malaysians who rely on English as a lingua franca to imagine and discuss an alternate national identity to the one being prescribed and enforced by the Malay-dominated government. At the same time, I argue that English problematically becomes a language of alienation and exile for the Malaysian unless it is used in conjunction with other local tongues.

The evolving role of the English language in Malaysia bears symptoms--or, one could say, scars--of the Malaysian political elite's increasingly conflicted brand of nationalism. With the country's national language policy constantly serving as an ideological battleground between the heavily pro-Malay political elite and the ethnically diverse proponents of multilingualism, English stands apart as a "neutral" shared language--ethnically unthreatening (unlike Tamil or Mandarin-Chinese) yet widely used and highly utilitarian for all in an increasingly globalized world economy. As such, the Malaysian language situation finds many parallels with that of India, its sister nation in the British Commonwealth. Braj B. Kachru observes that in India, English has been used to "neutralize identities one is reluctant to express by the use of native languages or dialects" (292). Kachru goes on to cite Raja Rao's famous induction of the British mother tongue into India's already-crowded fold of official languages: "...we [the Indian people] shall have the English language with us and amongst us, and not as a guest or friend, but as one of our own, of our caste, our creed, our sect and our tradition" (qtd. in Kachru 294). Perhaps with similar notions in mind, then Malaysian Minister of Education Hishammuddin Hussein declared in August 2005 that English might have been the language of the colonial masters, but, "forty-eight years on, as a people increasingly confident and mature in their independence, we should not be shy to say 'English is a Malaysian language'" [qtd. in Levett, emphasis mine]. Political observers of all stripes sat up and took note of Hishammuddin's brave, somewhat aberrant statement, wondered at its implications, and speculated about the progress it might herald. It was, for Hishammuddin, a highly uncharacteristic statement, for he is a vocal member of UMNO (the United Malays National Organisation), Malaysia's most powerful political party. He is also a politician with a track record of making racially-charged statements promoting the agenda for *ketuanan Melayu* or ethnic Malay supremacy. UMNO consistently emphasizes the supposedly unassailable status of Malay as the official language of the country, and nothing echoing the sentiment of this statement has proceeded from Hishammuddin nor from UMNO since. Four years later, highly publicized initiatives to increase the use of English in Malaysian public schools have produced disappointing, even distressing, results. National inter-ethnic unity is best described as tenuous. Meanwhile, Malay is officially brandished as a symbol of the dominant race's sociopolitical hegemony while on-the-ground implementation of English language usage flounders. Year 2002 figures estimated that less than 50 percent of Malaysian are English-literate compared to 90 percent who are literate in Malay (Richardson). Still, the idea so poignantly articulated by Hishammuddin (or, perhaps, by his idealistic speechwriters), demands an answer to the question of what really constitutes a Malaysian language, and whether such a thing has ever been allowed to attain organic existence at all.

One generation before Bernice Chauly confronted her complicated collage of identities and wondered about how she fit in a country governed by increasingly ultranationalistic Malay leaders, Shirley Geok-Lin Lim too had been unsure of her place in Malaysia. It was 1969 and the May 13 post-election racial riots had prompted the implementation of the Malaysian New Economic Policy (NEP). Still in effect today, the NEP enforced affirmative action and economic quotas to promote the progress and equity of the indigenous *bumiputra* (predominantly ethnic Malays) against that of their ethnic Chinese and Indian countrymen. Disillusioned by the government's rapid embrace of "Malay-dominant race-preferential" practices, and appalled

by fast-growing notions of Malay supremacy, Lim considered the postgraduate education that awaited her in Boston and thought to herself, "I might never return to Malaysia." For her, the riots had provided "the bloody revolution" that robbed Malaysia of "the ideal of a multicultural egalitarian future" (*Among the White Moon Faces* 136). Thus disenfranchised, and perceiving that her ethnicity now made her "subject to a new colonialism in the name of nationalism," Lim argues that to "continue to write in English about a Chinese-Malaysian self and world, to insist on the validity of my material history, is the most revolutionary act possible in a society which seeks to deny autonomy or value to people like me" (*Against the Grain* 27). Unlike Chauly, Lim chose to leave Malaysia for good and take the discourse of her identity to foreign shores. Since then, hundreds of thousands of other Malaysians have fled the country to escape various degrees of ethnic discrimination. For many of these Malaysians-in-diaspora, English remains a lifeline not only to their new, typically Anglophone home country, but also to the enduring, evolving Malaysia of their imaginations.

In reading the autobiographical narratives for the larger study upon which this paper is based, I found Benedict Anderson's definition of the nation as "an imagined political community" (6) highly pertinent to non-Malay Malaysians, especially those in some form of exile. A lot of the political disagreements among Malaysians today arise from the fact that the dominant race and the minorities do not see eye-to-eye on what an imagined, idealistic Malaysia should be, nor how one's belonging to this nation should be defined. Equally important is Anderson's point that even if "nation-states are widely conceded to be 'new' and 'historical', the nations to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past" (11). In present-day Malaysia, it can be argued that most Malays view their rights to the land and its economic product as stemming from a Malay nation that has its "immemorial" origins in the geographical territory now marked on the map as "Malaysia". The Chinese and Indian minorities, on the other hand, trace their citizenship and rights to their immigrant forefathers' commitment to the ideals articulated at the founding of the new nation-state in 1957. Their part in Malaysia is therefore relatively "new" and "historical". This, perhaps, is why Hishammuddin Hussein's rationale for accepting English – as "a Malaysian language" that was instrumental in winning Malaysia's independence – seemed an awkward fit for him and his party. By linking Malaysians' mastery of English to the nation's independence, Hishammuddin was invoking a historical milestone that established national belonging mainly for the *non*-Malays. For ethnic Malays, August 31st 1957 was simply a long overdue expulsion of an unwelcome colonial intruder occupying their ancestral homeland. What is more, a vocal and formidable political faction of ethnic Malays holds the opinion – to this day – that it was only on sufferance and through reluctant interdependence that they deigned to let the Chinese and Indians jointly take possession of the decolonized Malaya (also known as "Tanah Melayu", or "land of the Malays") with them.

It is within these racially-bifurcated perceptions of Malaysian belonging that the language issues of Malaysia have their basis. Out of a fear of being culturally deluged by the Chinese, pre-independence Malay leaders repeatedly insisted that citizenship be granted to the former on the condition that they embrace the Malay language, culture and lifestyle (von Vorys 99-101), but to date, only the language has been adopted by a significant portion of the non-Malay population. At the same time, religious freedom among non-Malays is protected under the law, and thus, Muslim Malay leaders blanch at the idea that their mother tongue should be used by non-Muslims in non-Islamic religious observances and cultural communities, for they imagine that such usage of the Malay language would threaten the Islamic homogeneity of the Malays by making competing religions and world views more linguistically accessible to ethnic Malays. Thus, the Malay political leadership tolerates the English language not only as a necessity for international commerce and politics, but also as an alternative lingua franca for ideas they would prefer to withhold from their ethnic constituencies. As a result of these sociolinguistic factors, English has continued to grow and evolve as a *de facto* language of social and political dissent in Malaysia because it selectively reaches audiences that are likely to be more sympathetic to the dissenter's cause. In the words of Kachru, English has given its speakers "access to attitudinally and materially desirable domains of power and knowledge" (295), exposing them to diverse social and ideological content, making them less inclined to accept state-sanctioned rhetoric and ideology without question. These "English using speech fellowships," however, remain a somewhat exclusive urban minority in Malaysia, and Bernice Chauly was keenly aware of this when she chose to write her poetry in English. In the same *Jakarta Post* interview, she accepts being restricted to a smaller audience so as to avoid being silenced altogether:

Just in terms of the ratio, English-speaking Malaysians and English-reading Malaysians are a very small minority. When you write in Malay you're appealing to a very large cross section of Malaysian society and if you're saying something that is subversive and politically offensive or slightly provocative then

you're in trouble. And the police will investigate you. [...] But if you write in English, you know (that) they don't really care. As long as it's not too offensive and it's not too overtly political and provocative, it's actually still OK.

The fact that "the police" are unconcerned so long as the rebel writes in non-Malay implies that it is not only the non-Malays, but also the entirely Muslim Malay majority whose intellectual and cultural interchanges are being regulated. In Chauly's case, her latest collection of poetry, *The Book of Sins*, was not so much politically disruptive as it was culturally subversive. To quote Chauly, "Too personal can be very subversive [...] You don't talk about yourself in Malaysia. My poems are very very personal, almost to the point of being subversive." Written and published in English, however, her poetry wore an acceptable linguistic buffer that kept most Malays from reading it. Most Malays miss this Punjabi-Chinese Muslim woman's honest poetry, and therefore never risk spiritual and cultural confusion over how her nuanced life, emotions and opinions do not reflect or conform to their highly-regulated experiences of Islam. The conservatism of Islam in Malaysia applies to both men and women, but on issues of sexuality and gender roles, a woman's acceptable conduct is not only more circumscribed but also more closely observed by society, media and the religious police. Chauly, who under Malaysian *syariah* law is forbidden to ever leave her Muslim faith, must always be guarded about where and how she reveals intimate details of her life. Reading her poetry as a Malaysian, I find the line "and as the children slept I drank wine, smoked/while pounding pencils into powder on paper" almost deliberately provocative, knowing from Chauly's own admission that most of the poems are autobiographical. First of all, wine and all other forms of alcohol are *haram* in Islam. A Malaysian Muslim risks arrest if he or she so much as attempts to buy beer from the 7-Eleven. Also, smoking in a house with sleeping children in it, or even smoking when one is a mother, is not unheard of, but it is not something you advertise as a Malaysian woman. In such lines I realize why Chauly needed English to write poetry. There may be Muslim Malay censors who read English perfectly well, but they are less likely to browse English poetry for enjoyment or even curiosity. Malay-language poetry, on the other hand, is almost certainly destined for markets that are at least 90 percent Muslim-Malay by ethnicity, and depictions of a Muslim woman drinking and smoking while her children are sleeping will not go unnoticed or unquestioned for long.

Chauly's experiences remain a marginalized version of Malaysianness within the national public consciousness not because they were unusual statistically but because her life narrative has been compartmentalized by the linguistic segregation between Malay language and non-Malay language literature. Thus the dubious ideal of the virginal/maternal, generally reticent, and religiously conservative Malaysian woman continues to be preserved because most Malaysian women (or men) will not be reading Chauly's poetry.

The effects of this sociolinguistic dynamic are violent and silencing even as it appears to offer some space for individuals like Chauly to express herself within Malaysian society. Her countryman and playwright, the late K.S. Maniam, characterized Malaysians minorities as a particular species of diasporic entities who, despite being "exposed to many different cultural experiences," must exist "in tension between the fluid cultural spaces of their lived reality and the rigid cultural space allowed them by public policy" (18). In Malaysia, language is a crucial cultural marker and is used to enforce territorial lines of various state-sanctioned cultural hegemonies. Repressive state apparatus such as the *syariah* courts and the Internal Security Act dictate that anyone using the Malay language must conform to certain sociocultural, religious and political "norms" or risk being brought in line forcibly. In this language environment, English is not simply a language of recourse; its usage could also mean compromise and betrayal, wherein Malaysians with "something to say" are compelled to keep "preaching to the choir" by restricting the reach of their message, via the English language, to fellow sociocultural, religious and political minorities. Personally, I regard this sociolinguistic dynamic as forced ideological incest, even if it does not always seem unpleasant because the audience is often supportive in their ability to empathize with the oppressed artist. Thus, Chauly's poetry in English is receiving critical acclaim in regional literary circles, but she perhaps views it as a bittersweet success. In an interview with Daphne Lee for *The Star*, a major Malaysian English daily, Chauly addresses this linguistic divide when asked about Malaysian writers working in English. "It is unfortunate that language is so politicised in this country," she responds. "We need to move beyond it and allow for expression and creativity. The schism of writing in Malay or English is very real."

In such an environment where language policy discourse is manipulated to reinforce political, religious and ethnic differences, it is only in being bilingual or multilingual that a Malaysian transcends state

machinations of inter-communal engagement. Every day, national events reported via Malaysian newspapers of different languages bear the political slant of their respective target speech communities. We are a people at risk of becoming ideologically alienated from our collective existence and identity. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's assertion – "Language as culture is the collective memory bank of a people's experience in history" (289) – is a crucial reminder that the only hope for Malaysians to reverse the deepening fragmentation of our national memory as a multiethnic, multilingual nation is by combining the versatility and "neutrality" of English with our access to other local languages. In talking about English usage in India, Kachru famously asserted: "The medium is non-native, but the message is not" (294). It is my hope that this cultural transparency of English, as articulated by Kachru, may yet characterize not only the nature of Malaysia's different languages, but also the diverse identities of their speakers.

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# CRUXMACHIA

Kevin Won

## ABSTRACT

The original idea for the book was to do a creative resurrection of the medieval allegory Psychomachia. Here, I created animal characters to represent the virtues and the vices. The Sagics and Infernites. They are anthropomorphized as warriors with weapons. In the beginning of the story, they are joined as balanced entities like wrath and patience, but are split after one immoral act causes a cataclysm that fuses humans with animals. In the end I hope to convey the message that "in our lives, we can all choose how much power the vices have over us."

## EXCERPT FROM "DAVY JONES' QUEST FOR KING ARTHUR'S ARSENAL"

Davy slid deftly into the water and darted without causing a ripple. The temperature got warmer as he neared the light. The red glow from a rock formed a silhouette of a sword's hilt.

"That's gotta be it" Davy thought as he drew closer. "Kay, hope this works" he thought, stretched out his hand. The heat from the rock caused the fizzing of tiny bubbles. Because of the intense temperature he had to turn his head. As soon as his hand touched the hilt, the fizzing began to subside and the stinging red light of the rock turned to a dim glow. Davy pulled and Excalibur came free, easily, like it would have fallen out had the stone been inverted. The blade was drab and dull. Oxidation had set in. He squinted to read the inscription "Cast me away."

With sword in hand, Davy ascended to the surface. The three queens waited for him on the shore. They were standing in the same semi-circle as before, only now they were holding unfamiliar weapons. To his right, Ysis dangled a wooden sword, Xaria held what looked like a truncated spear and on his left, Serafyn carried a crooked dagger.

"Do you understand why we had to test you?" asked Ysis "By the completion of the test you have also earned these, the rest of King Arthur's arsenal. The only piece unaccounted for is the scabbard of Excalibur which was stolen by Morgan Le Fay."

"The scabbard is said to render its user invulnerable," said Serafyn

"So, what are these things?" asked Davy

"This is Carnwennan, the stone dagger," said Serafyn "used to kill the Very Black Witch by King Arthur."

"This spear is known as Rhon," said Xaria "It is only two feet now, but it will telescope at the will of the user to any desired length and carries the power of the wind with it."

"And this wooden sword is the Sword of Peace, or Clarent," said Ysis "This was used by Arthur to perform knighting ceremonies and conduct talks of peace."

"So, what I gon use em for?" asked Davy

"When combined with Excalibur, the wielder can control and birth any kind of flora, or plant life, and heal anything organic," answered Ysis

"Combine? Hah?"

As he was talking the blade of Excalibur fell out of the hilt and shattered.

"So what I gon do now?" Davy asked

"The hilt is all that you need," said Ysis "It controls sunfire and attaches to the other weapons."

"So this becomes like one what? One Star-Wars-kind light saber?"

"A sun-saber, more correctly," continued Ysis "or any form of weapon you can think of."

The lesson was cut short by familiar shrieks. It was a band of flying and stampeding Dividians led by Gular and Avarix.

"Guess it's time for see what these things can do" said Davy as he gathered the weapons.

Before the attacking masses got too close a figure dropped from the sky, it was Temp, the frog. With his landing he cracked the ground using his staff. Temp and Davy watched as the dusty crack increased in length rapidly until it reached the Infernites and Dividians. Gular and Avarix, along with a dozen or so Dividians fell through the splitting earth with a loud smoky thud.

Davy rushed to Temp's side and began drawing the other weapons.

"Hold on." said Temp

"What? No more time!"

"You must have control of yourself before you can effectively control these weapons."

The remaining Dividians made ready postures and shouted. The first wave came swooping down. Temp spun his staff fiercely like helicopter blades repelling the flying antagonists. The next series of Dividians attacked rushing. Davy released the sun-saber for the first time. The light was so bright it blinded the oncoming attackers causing them to stumble holding their eyes.

"Alright! Let's go." Davy said and slashed straight across with the sun-saber. It didn't matter how close or far they were from Davy they all went spinning sideways as if they had been hit with tremendous force. Next Davy holstered the hilt and took out Rhon, the wind-spear. He was just in time to see Gular and Avarix poke their heads out of the cratered ground. Before he even realized it, the two fell back into the hole after being hit with the spearhead. "Ho, this thing is nuts," Davy said. "Kay, I gotta try the wind thing." Davy pointed Rhon at the Dividians creating a tornado emanating straight from the spear. The still-frazzled monsters were quickly yanked off the ground.

"Ho, spin cycle," said Davy "Too bad no more Clorox."

Once the vicious twisting stopped, they dropped onto the two Infernites and sent them tumbling back down.

"Ooo, that's gotta hurt!" said Davy

"Very nice," Temp said "But we need to get to Pomparles Bridge near Glastonbury. The others may need our help."

"I think I know how for get there more quick," Davy said and grabbed Temp's amphibious arm.

"What.."

"No worry beef curry," Davy said and pointed the spearhead towards the ground. A wind funnel coming out of the spear propelled them upwards.

"Hoooo!" Davy yelled as they jerked about, nearly fifty feet up "Sorry, first time flying, ah." Davy said and struggled to get the spear pointed at the right angle.

"Kay den, get um, we go."

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Coming up to the bridge, they could see what looked like swarms of insects converging and breaking apart.

"Oh nah," Davy thought "My dream."

With a mere thought Davy and Temp boosted towards the swarms. When they were close enough they could see that there were two Infernites. Luxaria, the mermaid and Envidas, the green beast. Militius, the leviathan and Castitas, the water sprite, were being overwhelmed by the two Infernites and throngs of Dividians, the half-man, half-animal creatures.

"Let me go," Temp said once they were directly above the fighting.

With that Temp once again dropped and parted the sea of Dividians by smashing his staff onto the ground. Davy hovered over the congregate attacking Castitas, drew Excalibur and released a fiery whip spattering the surrounding enemies. Davy landed next to Castitas, inspecting her briefly.

"I see you were successful," said Castitas.

"Ho yeah, Max's plan wen work," Davy answered "Now we go make like courtesy clerks and bag."

Davy continued using the spear and Excalibur. They had almost secured a way out when Superbion, the kraken, emerged from the water in his gigantic form. With hundred-foot tentacles he scooped Davy and the Sagics.

"Release the weapons, Davy," said Superbion and began to squeeze.

"No way, supah loozah!" said Davy and locked Excalibur onto the end of Rhon. He aimed the new weapon at Superbion and unleashed a spiraling firestorm completely engulfing the kraken's head in twisted flames. His cry shook the trees as they dropped.

"Grab on, you guys!" Davy shouted and pointed the spear to the ground. But there was too many of them. They boosted upwards but the weight made it impossible for Davy to control and they hit the ground tumbling.

"Sorry guys. Guess we better start running," said Davy. "Ho, somebody wen burn the tako."

"They're regrouping!" shouted Castitas. "Let's move!"

The pack hustled out towards a nearby valley. Once in the valley Davy attached Excalibur to Carnwennan, the stone dagger pointed to the ground, and created a trench the chasers disappeared into.

"Very original Davy," said Temp. "Did you think of that all by yourself?"

"Shadddup!"

Davy turned and stabbed the dagger into the dirt and boulders shook the floor as they rose out of the ground forming a giant wall nearly sealing off that side of the valley. Next he latched Excalibur onto Clarent and plunged it into the ground. A tall canopy of trees sprouted, sheltering the pathway to the back of the valley.

"That's so the flying freaks no can see us," said Davy "So how's that for creative?"

"Not Bad," said Temp. "Just don't get cocky."

"Aw, come on," said Davy, and winked

# THE GLOBALIZATION OF AMERICA'S PASTIME: AMERICAN FOOTBALL IN MEXICO

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to explore the presence of American football in Mexico and to examine how it has become a transnational, globalized and transculturated sport. Through interviews with league directors and football coaches from Mexico, I will be able to expound on their ideas behind the phenomenon of American football in Mexico. I will then analyze their ideas using various theories in order to prove that American football is a sign of globalization and modernity. Through this paper, I will be able to delve into the idea of American football in Mexico and how it has affected Mexican culture.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Football originated in the United States in 1876 and, since then, has become one of America's favorite pastimes. With its popularity in the United States, it has expanded to other countries such as Canada, Mexico, Europe and Japan. Every fall in the United States football is the topic of the weekend, whether it is high school, college or professional. Many games are televised, broadcast over the radio or seen at stadiums. Football has become an American tradition. Football is a form of nationalism where an "invented tradition" based on a mythical past is created to satisfy the needs of the present and the future. In this case, the invented tradition has created an enthusiasm for the sport that has overwhelmed the country for many years. With sports, fans can seek inspiration from athletes and the sport to project a unified and triumphant future of nationhood. Due to its international popularity, football has become transnational. One of the countries influenced most by American football is Mexico, the residents of which started playing football in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Mexico, a nation in which soccer has been the national sport, has recently shown tremendous interest in American football. Due to the proximity of the countries and the continuous travel across borders due to work, study, vacation and immigration, it is no wonder that Mexico has developed an interest in the sport. Mexico, like the U.S., has created several different divisions and leagues, starting with the "baby" league for young children, and ranging to the college level. Through interviews, magazine and journal articles, I will explore the presence of American football in Mexico to examine how it has become a transnational, globalized and transculturated sport and how these characteristics affect the Mexican community.

According to the Organización Nacional Autónoma de México website, American football in Mexico began around 1896 in Veracruz. The formation of the first teams was either engendered by the U.S. Navy on shore or Mexican college students returning home for the holidays. The sport's popularity continued with migrants returning to Mexico in the 1920's. In 1927, the Organización Nacional Autónoma de México was formed and is referred to as ONEFA. The first universities to participate in ONEFA were the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León (UANL), Universidad Autónoma de Chapingo, National Polytechnic Institute (IPN), Universidad Autónoma de Coahuila, Universidad Autónoma de Chihuahua and Universidad Autónoma Agraria Antonio Narro. In 1932, the Pumas from UNAM and the Burros from the Instituto Politécnico Nacional, the two largest universities in Mexico, played in exhibition games against United States universities and traveled throughout the U.S. Up until 1935, UNAM was sponsored by Harry Ford Sinclair, an American oil magnate. The UNAM Pumas dominated the league for many years and won several championships. The ONEFA, which is the oldest organization for football in Mexico, currently has three divisions, Liga Mayor, Intermedia and Juvenil. According to ONEFA, students are eligible to play in each league for a designated amount of years; therefore, this regulation makes the system similar to high school football and NCAA regulations in the U.S. For instance, students can only play three to four years in the Intermedia division and only five to six years in the Mayor division. In order for leagues and teams to exist, there must be a fan base. Alfredo Trejo Lucero, the president of ONEFA, answered questions about the fans in an email interview: "En México es un deporte de tradición estudiantil, por lo general son los propios estudiantes de las universidades y familiares y amigos" (Lucero Interview).<sup>1</sup> Trujero also expressed that American Football is played at a national level, but it is not as popular as the national sports, such as soccer and baseball. The players of the league can play in the NFL, but according to Lucero, very few get recruited because of their lack of size and weight: "Sí, pero por las características de peso, tamaño, es difícil que sean reclutados en una Universidad o equipo profesional de los Estados Unidos" (Lucero Interview).<sup>2</sup>

The next organization that formed was the Fútbol Americano del Estado de Mexico, (FADEMAC) a league that started in 1979 with nine teams. The first teams were at the "Infantil" division for children from nine to fourteen years of age. In 1980, the league began to grow and it formed the "BABY" division for kids 4 to 8 years of age. In 1982 it formed the "Intermedia" league, with players ranging from 19 to 22 years old. In 1990 the "Juvenil A" 16-17 years old and "Juvenil AA" 17-18 years old categories were formed. The last of the divisions formed was the "Femenil," which came about in 2001. The objective of this league is to allow kids with an interest in football to play a sport that they are passionate about:

El objetivo de la liga es inspirar a los niños y a la juventud olvidándose de razas, credo, color o posición socioeconómica, en la práctica de los ideales del deportivismo, espíritu escolar y mejoramiento físico, unificándolos por medio de un interés común en el deporte, el estudio, el compañerismo y las competencias atléticas, animar a los adultos a actuar de manera ejemplar cuando dirijan a niños y jóvenes, considerando básicamente su bienestar y manteniéndolos libres de prejuicios. ("Fútbol Americano del Estado de Mexico")<sup>3</sup>

FADEMAC is an organization that gives everyone an equal opportunity to participate in the sport. This organization tries to maintain healthy habits for the youth. This is very similar to the American idea of Pop Warner football where kids are given opportunities to play football starting at 5 years of age. FADEMAC reaches out to the youth of the nation in order to promote a healthier future.

Currently, the Mexican football team with the most recognition in the United States is the Prepa Tec Borregos. Prepa Tec is a group of technologically oriented high schools located all throughout Monterey, Mexico. The Prepa Tec Borregos established its first football team in 1995. In 1996, they had 350 students that tried out for the football team but were only able to keep 95. In 1997, they played in their first championship game, which they won by one point. They have been traveling to Texas since 1996 to play against high school teams in more than 30 games over 12 years. In Melissa Segura's "Friday Night Fútbol," published in *Sports Illustrated*, she describes the interaction between the Prepa Tec Borregos and a football team from Allen, Texas. Allen was the no. 4 ranked team in Texas at the time, making this the first meeting of a Mexican football team with such a strong Texas team. Before their game, the Borregos were reminded that they were playing a sport primarily played in the US. "'Fútbol Americano.' The very name reminded Prepa Tec, Borregos Salvajes, or Wild Rams, that the game they played did not belong to them" (Segura, "Sports Illustrated"). This was more than just a regular game for the Borregos, this game was about pride and a sense of respect. The Borregos, which have won many championships in Mexico, wanted to prove that they could compete with one of the best in the U.S. Although, they lost the game against Allen, they continue to play against teams in Texas, which makes them stronger. When asked about the recognition from the community, Assistant head coach for the Borregos, Gustavo J. Adame, explained that "asi es el ITESM PREPA TEC nos reconoce con anillos como en la NFL, cuando quedamos campeones, en una ceremonia interna con papas y comunidad tec"(Adame Interview).<sup>4</sup> He also explained that players might continue their careers in colleges in the United States. Although the Borregos are a very new program, they have made significant accomplishments in the sport for Mexico. The Borregos football team is a great example of a transculturation.

The National Football League is expanding into other countries such as Mexico, which reaffirms the global interest in football. The NFL has more than 20 million fans in Mexico, which is the league's greatest number of fans outside of the U.S. The first NFL game played in Mexico was in 1978, and was a preseason match in Mexico City between the New Orleans Saints and the Philadelphia Eagles. Since then, the NFL has held six more exhibition games in Mexico. These games were played in Mexico City except for one that took place in Monterey. In 1994, the NFL played an exhibition game in the Estadio Azteca in Mexico City with the largest crowd in NFL history: 112,376 came to see two Texas based teams, the Dallas Cowboys and the Houston Oilers. The NFL's first regular season game played outside the U.S. was in Mexico City between the San Francisco 49ers and the Arizona Cardinals. On October 2, 2005 a total of 103,467 fans filled the Estadio Azteca to watch this historic moment. Television stations in Mexico began to broadcast the Dallas Cowboys games in the 1960's. At this time, the Cowboys, known as the Vaqueros de Dallas, had a player of Hispanic origin, Danny Villanueva, who drew Mexican fans to the Cowboys. Additionally, there have been other players of Hispanic decent in the NFL like Joe Kapp and Jim Plunkett. Jim Plunkett was the first Mexican American taken as a number one pick in the NFL draft. In the latter half of the 1970's, three Mexican players made appearances in the Super Bowl. To this day, five Mexican players have participated in the Super Bowl. Former

Rams receiver Tom Fears is the first Mexican-born player inducted into the Pro Hall of Fame. Hispanic athletes in the NFL are supported and watched by Mexican communities.

Using the relationships between the NFL and other countries as an example, we can see how American football has been globalized. Globalization is described by Patricia Seed as "having been employed variously as the increasing internationalization of capital, transnationalization of culture, decentralization of means of communication (the internet) and finally as the end of the nation-state as the foundational form of political community" (Seed 223). The NFL is a representation of globalization through its transnationalization of culture through the American Bowls, which are football games played outside of the United States. Naming them American Bowls implies that the NFL is bringing an "American" product, football, into other countries. The media is a promoter of globalization and in the case of football, there are many resources that globalize the sport. For example, ESPN and Fox have been broadcasting Cowboys games in Mexico since the 1970's, therefore bringing attention to the sport and the team. Through media, the NFL has branched out to Mexican consumers, but not only through the broadcasting of the games. The NFL also hosts international websites and a website for Mexico. The [www.nfl.com.mx](http://www.nfl.com.mx) website is geared to the Spanish speaking community. Football brings an end to the nation-state because it creates a football nation that does not focus on one country.

Through American football, transnationalization of culture breaks down the borders between sports and nationhood. In this case, American football is practiced in a country where, fútbol or soccer is the most popular sport, which creates an imaginary border between the two different sports fútbol and football. The other border that football crosses is the more visible border between the United States and Mexico. In the article "Friday night fútbol," the Prepa Tec football team crosses the border and is stopped by the border patrol; they are then identified as a fútbol team and not a football team. The Prepa Tec football team is the best example of a transnational group because they have taken on an American sport and have crossed the exact border keeping them from playing against the best teams. In the book *Borderless Borders, US Latinos, Latin Americans, and the Paradox of Interdependence*, author Maria de los Angeles Torres provides us with a concept to define a transnational identity. According to her, "Border identities are unique because they contain elements of various cultures coexisting side by side" (Torres 177). Football and fútbol can be examined from a transnational point of view because football has been introduced to Mexico and fútbol, the primary sport in Mexico, is gaining popularity in the United States: "A border identity that is multiple may imply multiple loyalties. Furthermore, the hyphenated model assumed fixed identities on both sides of the equation, while, in reality, home country cultures were becoming more and more [Americanized] at the same time that U.S. culture was becoming more [Latinized]" (Torres 178). The border towns in Mexico tend to be affected more by American culture because of their proximity to and interactions with the culture on the other side of the border. When asked where the interest in the sport comes from, Adame stated that "el interés proviene de los estados unidos" (Adame Interview).<sup>5</sup> Due to the relations and history between the United States and Mexico there is a tremendous amount of cultural influence exerted on the border towns.

Borders, whether explicit or ambiguous, can cause contact zones where two cultures meet and exchange characteristics. The contact zone is defined by Mary Louise Pratt as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived" (Pratt 34). Football in Mexico is a contact zone where Mexican culture meets and clashes with an American sport. The sport of football is the actual contact zone and Mexico has taken from this contact an interest in the activity. With the broadcasting of NFL games in Mexico, the sport is being integrated into the Mexican culture. Another way that football is being integrated into Mexican culture is through the different organizations that fund participation in the sport. The actual football fields are direct representations of contact zones where the players interact with a sport that is foreign to their own nation. The Mexican community has to try to compete in a sport they are not experienced with nor are they expected to play or play well. When these teams or players play against teams from the United States, there is a contact zone between players from native home of the sport and Mexico. As a result of these contact zones, American football becomes a product of transculturation that "is a phenomenon of the contact zone, which is the process whereby members of subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted by a dominant or metropolitan group" (Pratt 36). The Mexican players and fans of American football are transculturated due to their interest in a sport that is primarily played in the United States.

The presence of American football in Mexico can be interpreted as a sign of modernity. By participating in football, Mexico presents themselves as modern by replicating a more advanced nation and by incorporating the European idea of nation. A clear example of their process can be seen in how baseball and football are being played in Mexico. By incorporating these sports into their culture, Mexicans believe that they are part of the idea of becoming a modern nation because they have incorporated ideas from the U.S. They also show that they can compete and perform at the level of the leading western power. With the existence of players of either Mexican origin or Mexican heritage in the United States, Mexico has also proven that they can play at the same level. When teams from Mexico play against teams from the United States, they are proving that they can assimilate an aspect of the U.S culture and be successful. The Prepa Tec football team has even been able to beat some Texas-based teams, showing that they can not only compete at the level of the Americans but also exceed the level of the Americans. According to Lucero, "En la frontera existe gente que por sus características es mas grande y fuerte, pero los mejores equipos existen en el centro del país por sus condiciones económicas y mayor estudiantes" (Lucero Interview).<sup>6</sup> Economic status can be a determining sign of modernity and Lucero explains that the better players of the modern sport come from a better socioeconomic environment. Football reflects economic status just like any other sport. Sports reflect a certain economic status because families with a lower economic status cannot afford for their children to be involved in sports. American football is a sign of modernity and Mexico is becoming a modern nation.

In conclusion, American football is expanding throughout different countries such as Canada, Japan and Mexico and turning football into a globalized market. The two countries that it has had the most impact on are the same two countries that border the United States: Mexico and Canada. The United States has had more influence on Mexico due to the larger percentage of immigration that occurs between these two countries. The NFL has been interested in both Canada and Mexico, but its marketing is oriented more towards Mexico because of its large fan base. American football is progressing in Mexico with the involvement of organizations that sponsor the leagues in which most teams are participating. It is impressive that students in Mexico can play football through their individual schools. With the help of these schools, players can further their American career in either a college in the United States or in the NFL. The Prepa Tec football program is demonstrating that they can compete with any team from the United States and that they can break down the borders integrated in American football. They prove that football is transnational and transculturated. Lucero states, "en Mexico el Deporte del fútbol Americano es puramente amateur, y la mayoría lo hacemos en forma alturista, por amor al deporte" (Lucero Interview).<sup>7</sup> With the growing popularity of American football in Mexico, the programs will continue to improve even though many of the players only play for the love of the game and nothing else.

#### NOTES

1. In Mexico, traditionally, it is a student sport; generally, they are the students from the universities and family and friends. All translations are mine.
2. Yes, but because of the characteristics of weight, size, it is difficult that the Universities or professional teams from the United States recruit them.
3. The objective of the league is to inspire kids and the youth to forget about race, creed, color, or social economic status, in the practice of the ideal sportsmanship, scholastic spirit and physical improvement, coming together through a common interest in the sport, studies, camaraderie, and athletic competition, to encourage adults to act in an exemplary manner when they manage the children and youth, considering basically their well being and keeping them free from prejudice.
4. That's how Prepa Tec is, we get recognized with rings, like the NFL, when we win championships, we get a ceremony with the community and parents.
5. The interest originated in the United States.
6. On the border the characteristics of the people are bigger and stronger, but the best teams are in the center of the country due to economic conditions and better students.
7. In Mexico, the sport of American football is played primarily by amateurs and a majority of us altruistically play, for the love of the game.

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## JOSÉ GUADALUPE POSADA: HISTORY AND CULTURE OF MEXICO

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Throughout its history, Mexico has given the world many distinguished creators that today are well known in the artistic field. Some of the internationally recognized artists are Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and Rufino Tamayo. Their works are characterized by strong messages directed to the people of all social strata. Similarly, a precursor of this group is the lithographer José Guadalupe Posada (1852-1913). Through his imprints and sketches, he promoted a critical vision of the ideology and the society of his time. This unmatched master of the sketch and the paintbrush left us with works that impress with their simplicity and their satirical vein for maintaining impartiality when representing the Mexican public and, especially, for their sociopolitical critique.

Posada evokes topics from popular culture through Mexican *calaveras*<sup>1</sup>, skeletons, political figures, etc. These imprints appeared in books, newspapers, religious or funeral stamps, commercial product labels, posters and fliers, and even matchboxes. As a consequence, his fame grew during his lifetime, and he became known in Mexico for his imprints. Today he is considered a national treasure (José).

From his very first lithographs, Posada shows his integrity of his art and reflects his dominion over the sketch. This is especially obvious in the cartoons he created when he was a teenager. These cartoons were made for *El Jicote*, a weekly newspaper independent of political parties, which had been launched in 1870 by the Club Chavez in the press of Trinidad Pedroza. Posada was no older than 20 years when he became famous. His fame grew with the popularity of the newspaper, which sold mainly due to the illustrations and cartoons of this young painter (Macarrón 91).

In 1871, Posada suffered his first clash with political repression. In the city of Aguascalientes, for eleven weeks *El Jicote* had published Posada's satires about the election of a local politician, the General Jesús Gómez Portugal. When he ran for re-election, Gómez Portugal found himself with an opposing campaign unleashed in *El Jicote*, the strongest protest weapon for Club Chavez, formed to protest the lack of productivity of the General (Gómez).

*El Jicote* was full of aggressive and accusative imprints created by Posada. His first published work was a political satire that ridiculed the image of Juan G. Alcázar, a representative of Aguascalientes during the governance of Gómez Portugal. This first imprint was so successful that Posada contributed to the next eleven publications of the newspaper. In every publication, there was one of Posada's imprints with his signature on it (Gómez).

To denounce the misconduct of the elections, in the fourth edition of the weekly newspaper, his satire exposes the corruption of the government officials that supported Gómez Portugal. Posada advised the people of the two faces of Gómez Portugal's practices. With this imprint and the collection of Posada's publications in *El Jicote*, Posada influenced the people of Aguascalientes in such a way that Gómez Portugal did not win the elections of 1871 (Gómez).

However, Posada's political critique did not end with the local politics. His work criticizes the rule of President Porfirio Díaz. In spite of the great promises of order, peace, and progress that President Díaz brought with him, Díaz is considered a dictator who brought progress to the industrial estate through foreign capital investments, participation in trades, and grants for the construction of railroads. As a result, those in power enjoyed elite privileges, while the rest of the country suffered of poverty and political oppression (Barragán López).

Political supporters of President Díaz appear as the target of Posada's satire. In an imprint that interprets ordinary Mexican life, he illustrated a satirical version of the popular kid's song "*Doña Blanca*"<sup>2</sup>. In this imprint, Posada changes the lyrics of the song to demonstrate how the Díaz governance influenced the people's lifestyle. The satire included Díaz's closest circle of friend as well as foreigners to whom Díaz had given economic concessions. The characters are as versatile as the range of his work: the poor people, the military men, the foreigners, the professionals, the intellectuals, and even the president. Posada gathers all of

them to create a direct, daring, and acute critique of the Mexican government. The imprint demonstrates Posada's bravery, as he not only revels against nations that showed interest in present and future investments in Mexico, like the United States (Antunez). In his collection, Posada does not only ridicule politicians and society, but he also shows the suffering of the poor people.

Posada's most famous character is death itself. Posada is the artist better known for lithographs of skeletons, Mexican *calaveras*, and death in general. According to information provided by the José Guadalupe Posada Museum in Aguascalientes, it has been suggested that Posada inherited the idea of skeletons from Manuel Manilla, his coworker in the workshop of A. Benegas Arroyo in Mexico City.

Posada's most popular skeleton is *La Catrina*<sup>3</sup>, an image appreciated by all social classes. Diego Rivera adopted her in his "*El mural de Diego Rivera*". In this mural, Rivera portrays himself along with Frida Kahlo and Posada standing around *La Catrina*. Rivera's *Catrina* differs from Posada's in that Rivera's has a more exaggerated attire, sharpening Posada's critique to the elite society (Antunez).

Posada, with his skeletons, gave a special touch to the Mexican culture. In fact, today it is impossible to imagine how the Day of the Dead was celebrated without his contribution. In popular tradition, the skeleton is a symbol that becomes an extension of life. Ironically, Posada portrays the skeleton as a being full of life who comes to co-exist with the living (Quesada).

It is possible that Posada did not have the intention to influence the Day of the Dead. He created his imprints to reproduce what surrounded him. As one can observe in his imprints about love, Posada criticized the many men who roamed beautiful women (José). He also exposed the absurdity of fixing marriages, as shown in the imprint "*El casamiento de Lolita, Papá y Mamá deciden su provenir*" (The marriage of Lolita, Mom and Dad Decide Her Future). In it appear Dad and Mom discussing Lolita's marriage options while Lolita remains at the margin of the discussion without consolation (Antunez).

Apparently, Posada had a progressive attitude regarding women and love. However, he also exposes women as cold and manipulative beings and presents men as victims. It is difficult to define his opinion because he does not conform to any ideology. Instead, he exposes the reality that surrounds him. What one can be sure of is that Posada defined his aesthetic taste for women. In the imprints where the woman is to be admired, she always appears with a long face, small mouth, medium sized nose, big eyes, thick eyebrows, and curly hair decorated with an elegant accessory. It is interesting to note that the image of Posada's feminine prototype reminds us of Goya's *Maja*. In fact, if we explore the works of Posada and Goya, we will find more significant parallels, proving that Posada was influenced by Goya.

However, as one takes a look at the following works, one realizes that in spite of the similarities between Posada and Goya, the work of Posada is not a replicate. In one of their pieces both artists interpret the passing of material life into the spiritual world. Posada illustrates a man illuminated in the distance with the blessing of the Holy Trinity, while, on Earth, he is surrounded by mundane vices represented by diabolical monsters and the temptation of money, alcohol, and women. These monsters resist the prayers of a priest and a saint (untitled imprint) (Antunez). Similarly, Goya, in "*San Francisco de Borja exorciza a un hombre moribundo endemoniado*" (Saint Francis of Borja exorcises a dying man), paints a dying man also in bed surrounded by his demons. In front of them is San Francisco de Borja exorcising him with a crucifix in hand. The similarities between the two images are very pronounced. The space is divided into three parts: 1. human world; 2. demons and temptations that disperse due to; 3. light originating from heaven. In spite of the similarities, Posada's piece is different because it characterizes Mexican images and symbols.

In another paper, it would be interesting to make a more extensive comparison between the works of Posada and Goya; however, for now, it will suffice to mention that Posada, as well as Goya, drew battles, executions, miseries, and disasters of all types. Some of Posada's imprints that represent these topics are: "*Los lamentos de las tortilleras*" (The Lament of the Tortilla Makers) and "*¡Encontraban y no!*" (They found it and not) (Antunez). Each one of them represents an event lived by the Mexican people. "*Los lamentos de las Tortilleras*," for example, freezes an episode in which corn and other seeds were scarce in Mexico. In this imprint one can see the policemen attempting to bring order to the scandal and the anguish of those who did not obtain their daily ration (Antunez).

According to the imprint "*¡Encontraban y no!*," the Tifo (a bacteria) arrived to the country without announcing itself. In the image, two doctors of the School of Medicine are busy looking for it in ridiculous places, without knowing if it was a bacteria or a microbe. Meanwhile, the unknown diabolic Tifo observes them through the window making funny faces at them (Antunez).

As one observes the collections of J. G. Posada's imprints, one is transported to his world to feel the frustration of the people. In a similar way, we can imagine Uncle Sam and the representatives of other nations who, even though they observe the destruction of Mexico, do nothing to help its people, as they do in the imprint "*Espectación universal ante nuestras luchas intestinas*" (Universal Anticipation Before the Internal Fight of Our People) (Antunez).

In the book, *The World of Goya 1746-1828*, by Richard Schickel and the editors of Time-Life Books, Goya is called "*El pintor de la mente española*" (The painter of the Spanish mind). In the same way, José Guadalupe Posada may carry the title of Painter of the Mexican Mind because he captured the attitude of the Mexican people in topics such as politics, love, and nightmares. With satire as his strongest weapon, Posada makes the people in power responsible for the battles, executions, shortages, and disasters. He criticizes society and politics with a fist of iron and he does not defend gender. Posada, other than in the political realm, reports reality with objectivity and does not defend any ideology. Whatever the topic might be, there is always an admirable imprint of José Guadalupe Posada. The only complaint that he transmits in his work without contradiction is that the people in power and the elite have done nothing to help the Mexican people. By promoting this idea, he develops a social awareness of civic responsibility.

#### NOTES

1. Before we continue, it is important to define the word *calavera* in the world of Posada. *Calavera*, in Spanish, translates to skull, but it is also a set of humorous verses dedicated to persons who have passed away, decorated with skulls and skeletons. These *calaveras* are written to celebrate the Day of the Dead and Posada used to decorate them.
2. Traditional folk song.
3. The word *catrina* in Spanish means elegant. Thus, the skeleton of *La Catrina* wears a fashionable hat and outfit. Its image represents the rich and pretentious and is meant to show that even they are taken by death just as anyone else.

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# ILLEGAL ISLAND ANNEXATIONS: SILENCED TRUTHS FROM 1898

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## ABSTRACT

In better understanding a more holistic approach to history, this essay includes information investigated through the lens of local Hawaiians and local Puerto Ricans. I will show how solidarity amongst these resistant island nations and their indigenous populations historically unifies them with respect to the explosion of the USS Maine in 1898. A revitalization of historical facts through the lens of cross-cultural indigenous perspectives connects the islands in opposition to 20<sup>th</sup> century United States colonialism. I would like to thank Dr. Aránzazu Ascunce, María Herrera Astua, and Taylor Kanzler for their patience and many edits.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

The USS Maine, docked in La Habana at the time of its explosion, had no connection with the Spanish-Cuban War. The justification for its presence in Cuba was the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. Under this doctrine, the United States promised protection to the Americas against European adversaries. However, from an indigenous perspective the Monroe Doctrine can be viewed as a form of legitimizing future U.S. imperialism. This explosion not only solidified the illegal annexation of Puerto Rico and Hawai'i, but ignited indigenous resistance movements on these islands. I will show how solidarity amongst these resistant indigenous populations historically unifies these island nations with respect to the explosion of the USS Maine in 1898. A revitalization of historical facts through indigenous perspectives exposes their united resistance against twentieth century United States colonialism.

After the Spanish colonization of Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam in the fifteenth century, these nations were colonized again by the United States in the nineteenth century. Along with Hawai'i, these islands which span from the Caribbean to the Pacific proved to be strategically located for future U.S. interests involving Latin American and Asian markets. By colonizing such islands, the U.S. capitalized on its new global dominance. Although Hawai'i had never been conquered and, along with the Philippines and Guam, was never considered under the Monroe Doctrine, this declaration affected the future of its direct affiliation with the United States. Hawaiians endured a similar decree called the Tyler Doctrine of 1842, which functioned as the Monroe Doctrine because it solidified US-Hawaiian relations through protection against European adversaries. These island populations were manipulated to secure the United States' rising global power. The power switch from Spanish rule to United States' supremacy militaristically, economically, and politically defined the twentieth century. The native people of each island nation never accepted this domination.

Every nation forced to fly the American flag overnight resisted this imperialism. Across the Caribbean and the Pacific, a loss of blood quantum (equated to a loss of identity) from commingling with foreign settlers, introduced diseases, war, slavery, and other forms of forced labor have greatly affected indigenous populations. Although indigeneity is celebrated very differently in Puerto Rico than it is in Hawai'i, citizens connected to this indigenous heritage are retrieving the voice that the United States has attempted to erase. As Haunani-Kay Trask states to her, "Modern Indigenous Resistance: From Insurrection to Revolution" class, "There are entire prior histories that nobody is talking about" (Fall 2008). Native persons have gained momentum in revitalizing those native voices rejecting the hegemonic account of United States historians. These historians have misrepresented the will of native persons in order to force a global amnesia over past annexation policies. When native persons reject this perspective, island nations redefine *their* national identity through *their* voice.

## 2.0. A SHARED HISTORY (NEW SUBTITLE TRANSITION)

In *Historia y cultura de Puerto Rico: desde la época pre-colombina hasta nuestros días*<sup>1</sup> Dr. Luis M. Díaz Soler investigates the historical events that caused the fall of the Spanish empire and the rise of a new global imperialistic power: the United States of America. In the late nineteenth century, Spain was confronted by domestic and international wars. Spanish rulers found themselves pitted against their own people and Latin American resistance. Apart from the Latin American struggle for independence, Spain endured civil disorder amongst its citizens who questioned the authority of Queen Isabel II. Spanish global dominance was

destabilized due to doubts created by its constant constitutional reconfiguring. As a consequence the overthrow of the Spanish monarchy, titled *La Gloriosa*, 'The Glorious' happened in Cádiz on September 17, 1868. By 1824 nearly all Spanish colonies were independent. The few island nations that remained under Spanish domination also reconsidered their national identity.

On September 23, 1868, six days after the overthrow of the Spanish monarchy, *El grito de Lares* 'The cry of Lares'<sup>2</sup> resounded in Puerto Rico. The cry ¡ *Muerte o libertad, viva Puerto Rico libre!* 'Death or liberty, long live free Puerto Rico!' ignited island sentiment against colonial rule. While Puerto Rico revised political reforms, on October 10 Cuba began its ten year war against Spain with its *Grito de Yara* 'The Cry of Yara'. The fall of the Spanish Republic in 1873, along with the fervor of *gritos* in Puerto Rico and Cuba, grabbed the attention of the United States.

As the two islands struggled towards national liberation, the United States cast its gaze upon Hawai'i. Prior to the illegal annexation of Hawai'i to the United States in 1898, *Kanaka Maoli* 'Native Hawaiians' had protested the *haole* 'foreign' settlers' invasion of their islands. As expressed on the Memorial to President Cleveland of the 1890s, the *Hui Aloha 'Āina* 'Hawaiian Patriotic League', "We protest against the movement in favor of doing away with the independence of our country; we protest against the effort to force annexation to the United States without consulting the people" (Trask 1999). Foreign people imposed their religion, language, economic structure, and land division on Hawaiians, illegally annexing the native lands. This Manifest Destiny continued in part because of its ideological position and the islands' geographic locations.

Noenoe Silva's (2004) book, *Aloha Betrayed*, explains how, in the 1860s *Kanaka Maoli* began expressing resistance toward *haole* settlers in Hawaiian language newspapers. During this time, United States settlers solidified their foreign dominance with the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875. According to Silva (2004), this treaty, forced on King Kalākaua (1874-1891), "bound Hawai'i tightly to the United States and represented a significant loss of sovereignty in its prohibition against the Hawaiian government leasing to any other nation any land in the kingdom". Resistance continued amongst *Kanaka Maoli*. According to Trask's text *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*:

Hawaiians viewed cession as a prelude to annexation, which they vigorously and vehemently opposed, arguing in the Hawaiian newspapers that annexation would be national death. Keenly aware of American racism because of *haole* treatment of American Indians and enslaved African peoples on the continent, Hawaiians understood they would be classified with other [colored races]...As their newspapers argued, Hawaiians would suffer [virtual enslavement under annexation] including further loss of lands and liberties. (Trask 1999)

This fear over a loss of culture and sovereignty can be attributed to the fact that when Crowned Prince Liholiho traveled to the United States in 1872, he "had been ejected, along with his brother Prince Lot, because of his skin color" (Trask 1999). In response to local resistance, *haoles* looked to tighten their colonial control in Hawai'i.

According to Silva, as the diaspora increased among *Kanaka Maoli*, the resistance furthered segregation. The *haole* oligarchy formed by missionary sons and other businessmen forced King Kalākaua at gunpoint to sign the "Bayonet Constitution" in 1887. This constitution diminished King Kalākaua's executive powers by making it impossible for laws to pass without the cabinet's consent. Also, *Kanaka Maoli* were not allowed to vote because only people with an annual income of six hundred dollars or more, and who owned property valued at three thousand dollars or more, could do so. Thus, to vote on Hawaiian issues in Hawai'i one did not need to be a natural citizen. Upon the death of King Kalākaua in 1891 and the coronation of his sister, Queen Lili'uokalani (1891-1898), Native Hawaiian resistance to the United States imperialism increased. Inspired by this resistance, Queen Lili'uokalani attempted to regain the rights of the Hawaiian people. However, the oligarchy armed with U.S. soldiers and spearheaded by U.S. Minister John L. Stevens and missionary turned plantation owner Sanford B. Dole, overthrew Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893. Her concern for the welfare of her people caused Queen Lili'uokalani to yield her power.

To assess the United States' domination, we must examine who assumed positions of power within the United States government during this time. Prior to President Grover Cleveland (a Democrat and anti-

expansionist from 1885-1889 and 1893-1897), the United States was ruled by four consecutive Republican terms and sixteen years of expansionist ideology from 1869 to 1885. It was in 1868 when Puerto Rico and Cuba initiated their campaign towards independence. In 1893, Cleveland assumed his second term and did not support the illegal annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. According to Silva (2004), "When President Grover Cleveland took office in 1893, he rejected the provisional government's proposed treaty to annex Hawai'i." He asked for John L. Stevens' resignation. *Kanaka Maoli* continued to protest the oligarchy, who, at the urgency of Sanford B. Dole, continued to reject the will of the president. Fearing the worst, *Kanaka Maoli* spearheaded their campaign to resist Hawaiian annexation by collecting 38,000 of 40,000 Hawaiian signatures. Newly formulated political groups that worked together in the collection process included the Hui Aloha 'Āina o Na Kāne 'Hawaiian Patriotic League for Men', the Hui Aloha 'Āina o Nā Wāhine 'Hawaiian Patriotic League for Women', and the Hui Kalai'āina 'Political League'. The growing anti-annexation movement in Hawai'i was a force against United States expansionism (Silva 2004).

Meanwhile in 1892, José Martí formed the Cuban Revolutionary Party and the second war for Cuban independence began. In conjunction with the Puerto Rican independence movement headed by Luis Muñoz Rivera (the President of the Provincial Committee), both revolutionary groups began to fear United States involvement. Because of this fear, Muñoz helped create forty-five local committees that resisted United States imperialism. His concerns could have been caused by the shift of power from Cleveland's Democratic anti-annexation policies to President William McKinley's Republican expansionism policies in the election of 1897. According to Díaz:

Fue más que mera coincidencia la declaración del senador Henry Cabot Lodge el 31 de enero de 1898 al pronosticar que 'cualquier día de estos puede haber una explosión en Cuba que deje arregladas muchas cosas.' Quince días después se hundía el acorazado 'Maine', surto desde el 25 de enero en la bahía de la Habana, como consecuencia de una explosión (Díaz 1999)<sup>3</sup>.

In response to this explosion during the newly renamed "Spanish-American War", Puerto Rican activists created a political party called the *Unión Autonomista Liberal* 'Liberal Autonomist Union' in pursuit of Puerto Rican independence. However, before Puerto Rico could create an autonomist constitution, the United States bombed San Juan on May 11, 1898. Díaz's research states that before the bombing:

El subsecretario de Guerra, Theodore Roosevelt, escribía al senador Cabot Lodge que la paz no debía formalizarse 'hasta que Puerto Rico fuera conquistado, Cuba fuera independiente y las Filipinas fueran arrebatadas a España por cualquier medio'. Lodge le aseguraba a Roosevelt que Puerto Rico había estado en la mente del Ejército y la Marina desde los comienzos de la guerra. (Díaz 1999)<sup>4</sup>

Spain ceded Puerto Rican annexation to the United States on October 18, 1898 along with all of the other demands posed by the U.S. On December 10, without representatives from Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, or Hawai'i, only invited delegates from Spain and the U.S. signed the Treaty of Paris. Thus, the United States' global domination continued to take its course.

According to Silva (2004), Hawai'i would have sent an indigenous representative to the signing of this treaty because when the United States solidified its grip on the Philippines and Guam, President McKinley proclaimed that in order for the United States to fight Spain:

They needed Hawai'i as a coaling station. On July 6, in the midst of the fever of war, a Joint Resolution of Congress, called the Newlands Resolution, was passed by a simple majority of each house, thus supposedly making Hawai'i a territory of the United States.

It could be inferred that the U.S. excluded indigenous persons at the signing of this treaty because of the expected contention that their perspective or resistance would inevitably cause. Their vote was never taken and, similarly upon annexation, Puerto Ricans were never allowed to vote for the U.S. president.

Although Cuba became independent, freedom was tempered by the Platt Amendment in 1901. Cuban "independence" was not granted until the signing of this specific revision. Upon signing it, the United States imposed a militarist presence in Guantánamo Bay to control the potential transfer of land to any country other than the United States. This amendment also allowed the United States to intervene in Cuban foreign affairs and

forbade Cuba from negotiating foreign treaties. Therefore, this amendment did not allow Cuba to be independent.

Like the rest of these islands, the Philippines were anti-annexation. They fought against Spanish imperialism in the 1896 Katipuna Revolt, and after the execution of their national hero, José Rizal, later in that same year, resistance to imperialism ignited increased opposition to further Spanish imposition. In June of 1898 the Filipino people declared their independence from Spain. However, just six months later amidst the fervor of the Spanish-American War and upon the signing of the Treaty of Paris in December, the Philippines were transferred to the United States as part of the booty of war. Although the Filipino people failed to gain independence at the time of the annexation, Philippine resistance to United States annexation did exist for over forty years. After years of protest, the Philippines are currently an independent nation very much economically connected to U.S. investments. Although my research into Guam (Chamorro) resistance to United States annexation has been inconclusive, history points out that Chamorro resistance has seemingly been erased. Like Puerto Rico, Guam is in a similar position as a U.S. territory without voting privileges. They continue to protest the intense United States Navy occupation that began after the signing of the Treaty of Paris. It wasn't until the signing of the Organic Act of 1950 that Chamorros founded a local government and were granted citizenship status.

### 3.0. LANGUAGE IMPOSITION

As demonstrated by Spanish and United States colonization, when a language is banned, a complete history is eradicated. The U.S.'s imposition of the English language became a tool for exterminating these islands' histories. Both Hawai'i and Puerto Rico endured this extermination because of the colonization process. Although Spanish has never been abolished by the United States in Puerto Rico, the acceptance of English and Spanish as the island's official languages has had devastating effects in the deconstruction process of a Puerto Rican national identity. The *Ley Foraker* 'Foraker Law' established on January of 1901 in Puerto Rico highlighted that:

La directriz educativa iba dirigida a (americanizar) el país; se insistió en la enseñanza intensiva del inglés y en el uso de esa lengua para enseñar otras asignaturas. Se implantó el requisito diario de jurar lealtad a la bandera de los Estados Unidos, se tocaba el himno nacional en otros actos públicos y se inició la costumbre de celebrar las fiestas nacionales tradicionales de la metrópolis, amen de estudiar la historia y la vida de los patriotas estadounidenses. (Díaz 1999)<sup>5</sup>

This practice has asphyxiated native resistance. Although foreign to these islands, continental United States citizens must aid in the historical reconstruction of this unjust contemporary reality. One way to start spreading awareness is to show historical films created by indigenous people on all incoming flights to Hawai'i and Puerto Rico.

This paper demonstrates how Hawai'i and Puerto Rico are connected through United States imperialism. They are two islands whose histories mirror one another in a sea of imperialist expansionism. Both islands still endure the attempted eradication of indigenous perspectives and local resistance. They are still unfortunate pawns in the global market on which the United States capitalizes. Historical accounts created by United States historians give only one perspective of what happened. As the indigenous perspectives approach historical facts of illegal annexations, both islands will see that their histories connect them. Land, languages, religions, and economies have been changed, but as we relate Puerto Rico and Hawai'i through indigenous perspectives, we see how the United States has manipulated each to gain the other. Awareness of indigenous perspectives will create a holistic view of history, and can connect both islands through improved solidarity. As history sheds light on colonization perspectives, we the *haoles*, *gringos*, *foreigners* must listen to the indigenous persons because they have been historically misrepresented. After listening, we must take action: we must confront these social and political injustices to eradicate false ideologies of superiority. The explosion of the USS Maine in 1898 not only catalyzed the illegal annexation of Puerto Rico and Hawai'i, but ignited indigenous resistance movements within these islands. Once we acknowledge the lack of historical perspectives regarding the United States' transition to power, then we can foster a spirit of understanding and appreciation of the indigenous voice.

## NOTES

1. This book is taught in Puerto Rican universities.
2. Translations from Spanish to English are mine. Translations from Hawaiian to English have been extracted from Noenoe Silva's book, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004.
3. It was more than mere coincidence when Senator Henry Cabot Lodge predicted on January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1898 that (in any of these days, there may be an explosion in Cuba that will fix many things). Anchored in the Havana Bay since January 25, fifteen days after, the battleship Maine was sunk due to an explosion.
4. The Assistant Secretary of War, Theodore Roosevelt, wrote to Senator Cabot Lodge that peace should not be formalized (until Puerto Rico was conquered, Cuba was independent, and the Philippines were seized from Spain by any means necessary). Lodge assured Roosevelt that Puerto Rico had been in the Army's and Navy's mind since the beginning of the war.
5. The educational guidelines were directed towards (Americanizing) the country; this led to an intensive teaching of English, and the use of this language to teach other subjects. It implemented the daily requirement to pledge allegiance to the United States flag and to play the National Anthem in public ceremonies; US National holidays were celebrated in Puerto Rico, as well as the history and lives of United States patriots.

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## THE FUNCTION OF CONCUPISCENCE IN *LA TRAICIÓN EN LA AMISTAD*

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In a society where social status, honor, and religion symbolize feminine and family integrity, it is hard to imagine a woman expressing her concerns. Just thinking outside of these established parameters was sinful and severely criticized by the patriarchal Spanish society of the seventeenth century, in which the Catholic Church had significant role. In this essay, I intend to show how concupiscence, a term that will be discussed later in the essay, is the basis upon which to establish sexual equality between men and women in the narrative of *La traición en la amistad* by María de Zayas y Sotomayor, the famed writer of the Spanish Golden Age and one of the precursors of feminism. To achieve this task, I will analyze the character of Fenisa, which establishes the departing point of my argument on how the concupiscence is the basis to establish sexual equality between men and women.

The Real Academia Española de la Lengua, from a catholic point of view, defines concupiscence as the "disordered appetite of dishonest pleasures" (RAE)<sup>1</sup>. Concupiscence is pure curiosity that does not express itself; it is "to look in order to desire" or "adultery committed in the heart," as Pope John Paul II defined it.

In *La traición en la amistad*, the concupiscence of Fenisa is represented very similarly to that of Don Juan's, the Spanish literary character created by Tirso de Molina in the seventeenth century in (the play) *El Burlador de Sevilla*. This character has become the myth and the archetype of the womanizer. Therefore, the representation of Fenisa in this comedy not only departs from the traditional image of woman, but also gives breadth to a woman who owns her desires and a sexuality that competes with men in equalizing terms, which serves to ridicule the male code of honor. At the end of the comedy, Fenisa is punished for her behavior, left alone and with her honor destroyed. In a similar way, the Don Juan from *Burlador de Sevilla* pays for his behavior with interest when he goes to hell. María Victoria Martínez, an expert in Spanish literature mentions that, according to Ramón Menéndez Pidal:

the honor is reverence or consideration that the man earns for his virtue and his good deeds. The *honra*, on the other hand, even though it is earned with one's acts, depends on the acts of others, on the esteem and fame that others grant. Therefore, it is lost because of the acts of others, when anyone retrieves their consideration and respect for another; a slap, a lie dishonor if they are not avenged. Furthermore, while the *honra* is equaled to life, the *deshonra* is equaled to death--and only the death of an offender can restore it. (1)

A woman possesses *honra* as if she is the carrier of a virus who must be responsible for the effect that this virus could have on her and her family. As such, Fenisa--a carrier of *honra*--ridicules its code by destroying her reputation and those of the men related to her: Bellow is a quote of Fenisa that ratifies how she plays with the code of *honra*: "Men therefore your tricks I see. Save us from the female fools who do not know, even though their strength ends in entertaining themselves like I do . . . Woe to the one that love only one man" (Zayas 78).

In the twenty-first century, the character of the Don Juan was romanticized. According to Lourdes Ortiz, as a consequence of the positive image of the Don Juan, "today in colloquial language, the [Don Juan] is he that has everything done beforehand, that goes from one flower to the other with reassured success" (25). What it means "to be a Don Juan" today is considered flattery, the most important attribute that defines a "macho" man. Meanwhile, a woman with a Don Juan's attributes still has negative connotations, which exposes a double moral because the woman is impartially judged as promiscuous. Therefore, to place Fenisa at the level of the Don Juan is a revolutionary feminist strategy which implies that some of the Don Juan's characteristics are not exclusive to the male sex.

Regarding the plot of *La traición en la amistad*, it is necessary to remark how the *comedia* is formed by series of intricate love triangles headed by Fenisa, Liseo, and Marcia. This *comedia* utilizes the relationship between men and women to criticize the position of women through the code of *honra*.

Fenisa is particularly interesting because in no previous Spanish literature of this period does a text construct a woman as a rival of men. Fenisa represents the feminine Don Juan because she is the number one carrier of concupiscence and a female character that enjoys sexual intercourse as does the typical Don Juan.

In Fenisa's case, her concupiscence becomes uncontrollable lust that precludes her capacity to reason, making her insensitive, selfish and lusty: "The most general vice, applied to money, is greed. To property, is covetousness; to food, gluttony; to the flesh, concupiscence. Soul when the 'I,' exclusive and despicable, looks sideways at what belongs to another. The selfish man is insatiable because it looks only to its own" (Campderrós 36). In the beginning of this particular *comedia*, it is established that Fenisa's concupiscence starts the moment she sees Liseo's portrait. This fact anchors concupiscence as the most relevant element not only in Fenisa, but also in the narrative of this *comedia*. Before looking at the portrait of Liseo showed to her by her friend Marcia, Fenisa expresses her distrust of love:

Consider that you lose yourself  
and the sorrows that you impose on yourself  
in a sea of so many storms,  
confusion and woe.  
¿What do you expect to get from loving  
at a time when neither  
beauty nor virtues are looked at?  
¿Only property is esteemed? (Zayas 27).

It is evident that Fenisa is so disappointed in love that she suggests that Marcia not to get involved with Liseo because, according to her, men do not see the decency of a woman, only her money. This is a crucial moment since it reveals Fenisa's intention to not fall in love or become intimate with anybody. This fact implies that carnal desire is the main motivation of her actions. As soon as Fenisa sees Liseo's portrait, her attitude towards love drastically changes:

Oh, Lord! ¿What have I seen?  
¿What do you spy, soul, what do you spy?  
¿What love is this? ¡Oh, what charm!  
Refrain, maddening fantasy.  
¡Such a machine, such an illusion!  
Marcia and I are friends;  
strength is death. ¡Oh, love!  
¿Why do you ask me to follow you?  
¡Ah, charm-filled eyes! (Zayas 29)

In this quote, concupiscence enters Fenisa's eyes with a fiery intensity and transforms her completely into a lump of carnal desire.

In this *comedia*, Liseo's beauty is the main catalyst for Fenisa's concupiscence. The libidinous attraction that Liseo provokes in Fenisa develops into uncontrollable desire. If such a beauty did not exist, Fenisa may not have satiated her carnal desires with so many men, thus impersonating the typical image of the Don Juan. It is also important to notice that, compared to Don Juan Tenorio, Fenisa admits that she loves her lovers, a fact which evidences how she is different from her male counterparts. Unlike men's concupiscence, women's have both carnal and sentimental elements. In Fenisa, Zayas represents a woman who owns her thoughts and sexuality because she is capable of thinking, feeling, and seducing like a Don Juan. Furthermore, women's beauty is not the inspiration for desire in this *comedia*, but men's. This difference inverts the traditional representation of feminine beauty and, consequently, demonstrates sexual equality between men and women. Regarding this issue, Lisa Volledorf points out that:

Based on a rigorously politicized treatment of sex, and the body, Zayas' highly original aesthetic differentiates her from other writers of the period. Framed by statement about the need to reform gender relations, most of the novelas contain descriptions of the physical and emotional perils of love. (23)

Through the character of Fenisa, this text positions men and women as equals regarding their right to feel and use their bodies freely, which makes this text a revolutionary one in the world of Spanish literature.

In the case of Liseo, we can see how his desire to be with women ends up transforming into lust because it leads to his intimacy with Laura and Fenisa. In the second act, Liseo tells Leon his true intentions with Fenisa as follow: "León, if I woo Fenisa, it is with deception, mockery and lies only to satisfy my sexual

desire" (Zayas 71). Liseo's concupiscence tends to be, at the beginning of the text, similar to that of Don Juan Tenorio in *El burlador de Sevilla*. Juan Montalvo refers to this fact when he claims that:

it is not don Juan Tenorio who tricks and seduces, forces and rapes, eats in heaps honesty and modesty, lacking human and divine respect, slave to the concupiscence: it is not the secret murdered who has spilled innocent blood to disclose the lost mysteries in the science of alchemy. (327)

We see in this quotation that for both *galanes*<sup>2</sup>, the pleasure of the flesh is above the honra of the women. These men do not respect the social rules and disregard completely the religious ones. The concupiscence that lives in them emerges and expresses itself the moment they have intercourse with the women of both stories. Liseo has sex with the women for the same reasons as Don Juan Tenorio and Fenisa: uncontrollable desire. Liseo seduces Laura, leaves her and ends up sleeping with Fenisa while he courts Marcia. These actions definitively turn him into a Don Juan, transforming him into Fenisa's main antagonist. In this transformation, we can see concupiscence as the main element of the rivals for, without it, these antagonists would not act as immorally as they do.

Marcia does possess concupiscence, but it does not cloud her reason, since she has enough strength to rein in her passions and help Laura recover her honor. It is interesting to note that *honra* is usually recovered by men, but in this *comedia*, the women are the ones who recover it. Marcia never consummates her concupiscence because given a choice between her duty and her desire, she decides to act according to the former, pushing aside her passions and acting as sensibly as possible. Marcia represents the opposite of Fenisa: a decent, modest woman and therefore a stereotypical representation of a woman according to the established patriarchal order. In *La traición en la amistad*, we see the ease with which Marcia rejects her concupiscence in front of Liseo, after she discovers that he has dishonored Laura, her friend. This rejection can be interpreted as the intimate sexual desire that women experience repressed by the rules of the traditional society of seventeenth century Spain. Fear of gossip was an important method of social control and, therefore, woman's behavior had to be irreproachable. If this was not the case, women were the carriers of a virus who, aside from creating devastating consequences for themselves, were morally responsible towards society and, particularly, towards the men of their family. Similarly, *honra* in *La traición en la amistad* is carried by women as a virus and they can save or infect and damage others in irreparable ways.

In addition, Marcia is a significant character because she proves that women possessed intelligence and honesty in a patriarchal society that assumed women lacked both. The Spanish literary expert Vollendorf points out that:

Working against cultural prejudice that figured woman as corruptible and corrupting, Zaya's texts flesh out many characterizations of women and validate women's capacity for intellectual and physical freedom. Her characters take adamant stands on women's issues by criticizing men's behavior and men's refusal to grant women access to education, arms, and justice. Zayas denounces violence against women, calls for legal and educational reform, and represents the convent as a safe haven. (17)

We can see the sexual equality Zayas proposes in *La traición en la amistad* through her re-imagining of concupiscence. In this text, even Fenisa's representation of a Don Juan is an imminent challenge to the patriarchy.

Gerardo is the male image of Marcia because Zayas portrays him as possessing an incorruptible moral sense displayed throughout the text. Even though his concupiscence is tested by the overwhelming sexuality of Fenisa, Gerardo controls himself and rejects her in an exemplary manner. His behavior establishes that modesty does not exclusively belong to women, but that it is a quality that both men and women can possess. With his character, another element of equality between men and women is established. If María de Zayas denounces the abuse against women perpetrated by the Spanish society of the seventeenth century in her text *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*, we cannot discard the idea that this *comedia* can also do it:

For if this matter of which we, men and women, are composed, whether it is a union of fire and mud, or a mass of spirit and clods of earth, it has no more novelty in them men than in us women, if the blood is the same; the senses, the abilities, and the organs by which their effects are achieved, are the same; the

same soul as theirs because souls are neither men nor women: what reason is there for them to be wise and to presume that we women cannot be so? (17)

It is clear by Zayas statement that for her, men and women are at the same level. By giving Gerardo the attributes Marica possesses, Zayas emphasizes the equality between men and women.

To conclude, this particular *comedia* presents a woman that challenges patriarchal society through concupiscence. Fenisa breaks the established rules governing gender norms by offering the figure of a new woman, one that is free to think, feel and seduce as does the typical Don Juan. Therefore, through her character, Zayas establishes sexual equality between men and women. Through such equality, the *comedia* presents concupiscence as not exclusive to men. The similarities between Fenisa and Don Juan are not seen only in concupiscence, but are also evidenced when Fenisa is punished at the end of the *comedia*. Like Don Juan Tenorio, Fenisa pays dearly for her behavior: she is left completely alone and her *honra* has been shattered. Therefore, this *comedia* presents for the first time in the seventeenth century Spanish literature a woman as the main carrier and executor of concupiscence from a revolutionary and feminist point of view.

#### NOTES

1. Royal Spanish Academy, an organization that defines Spanish language standards
2. "Galanés": (1) Good looking man, well-proportioned and graceful in handling himself. (2) A man who seduces a woman. (3) Theater actor or movie that represents leading roles, especially in regard to love.

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## About the Contributors

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